1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The City Greek]

An additional resource of the city Greek after the fall of the Byzantine Empire was the respect which other peoples paid to Greek cultural traditions. The city Greek could rest at times on the laurels of his ancestors, or he could command a situation by assuming superiority based on the glory of his past. Furthermore, when days looked darkest, from late in the eighteenth century on down, he could count on the support of classic-minded benefactors of the Western world. There remained also the implication of the term *barbarian* for the non-Greek; this did not die out with ancient Greece but continued to apply to other Balkan Christian groups which the city Greek assiduously tried to Hellenize. The city was dominant here, too, for this Hellenization proceeded outward from the city. The contact point was usually the Greek priest, with his loyalty to the urban Byzantine tradition, in a Slavic, Vlach, or Albanian village before the rise of national churches in the Balkans during the last century.[6]

This, then, is the proud and rich tradition of the contemporary city Greek — a tradition kept alive by the schools, the church, and by the admiration of many non-Greek scholars seeking to trace the origin of Western democracy to its pristine source in the pre-Christian Greek city-state.

Also helping to keep the tradition alive are the few leisured families, some of whom have highly placed relatives scattered throughout the continent of Europe, as well as the growing intelligentsia and the merchants for whom the city is a natural habitat. Even the urban laborer, whether a skilled worker in a textile plant or an unskilled hod carrier on a construction project, has many of the same traits as the members of the middle and upper classes: in his cafés and *tavernas*, the worker reveals the same zest for life as well as some of the same preoccupations with his daily lot. Yet members of the new intelligentsia, Athenian politicians, and businessmen still have many relatives in the provinces with whom they are in frequent contact and to whom city ways are steadily spreading.

The city Greek's supreme self-confidence, arising out of these traditions of power and glory, is shown in almost any discussion overheard at the cafés where the Greek urbanite meets his friends to argue about anything and everything.[8] His gestures are as eloquent as his words, as Robert P. T. Coffin said so well in his poem, "Greek Hands Are the Greek":

> Greek hands are tongues,
> They are tails of dogs;
> They are also Plato's
> Dialogues.[9]

Completely sure that his ideas on public questions are as sound as those of any cabinet minister or newspaper editor, the city Greek takes great pleasure in expounding these ideas.[8] An incident of half a century ago, at the time of the Russo-Japanese War, is still told with amusement by Athe-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

is going on in the world." "A few of us get small cooking stoves and others electric irons." Some also add, with a twinkle in their eyes, that since they can see after dark they do not have to go to bed so early and that the birth rate will probably drop.

Where there is no electricity there may be radio sets run by batteries. In one mountain village we found that five of the eight coffeehouses had battery receiving sets which they always turned on to the newscasts. "Why," we wanted to know, "are you villagers so interested in newscasts?" "Oh, we like to hear farm prices over the radio, but most of all we like news about what is going on in foreign countries because that is what enlightens us." In some of the most out-of-the-way villages we found receiving sets run by gas motors supplied by the United States Mission. Thus the air waves are reaching the village plateia and the villagers' sense of isolation gives way to a growing demand for more of the benefits enjoyed outside the village.

The water supply in the village is quickly identified by the procession of people to and from the springs, artesian well, or street faucets. A local gendarme in his trim gray uniform, who joins our group, and a field guard on his way to leave the rifle slung over his shoulder at the community-council office are expressions of services from the national or local government, as is the mailman who comes from the next largest center once a day, or perhaps three times a week.

Our observations of the people, public buildings, and available utilities are constantly interrupted by the liveliness of the eager conversation around the café table. Although the American visitor is not directly engaged, the topics sound so interesting and so close to the facts he is trying to collect that he cannot remain entirely aloof. For instance, the young officer in charge of some people recently resettled in the Greek-Albanian border area under his control says that the peasants are complaining because their land allotment is too small and the soil too sandy, so they go into the forbidden no-man's-land to cultivate even if they do place their lives in jeopardy; a man who prides himself on knowing local history affects a learned air when he tells the history of the local church, built on the site of an ancient pagan shrine; a child, bolder than the rest, comes up to ask the woman interpreter, who is wearing slacks, whether she is a man or a woman.

Again, in a low voice, a local official inquires politely: "Who is this American professor? What is he doing in our village?" When he is told that the professor is interested in understanding the Greek people, and in telling Americans about them, he finds it hard to believe. "You mean," someone asks, "that he has come all the way from America to visit our village? Please tell the professor that we are greatly honored." One man adds, "I've lived here sixty-seven years and during none of that time has a Greek professor ever come to visit us." A woman related to the coffee-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

on the land they farmed.[5] Despite these economic disadvantages, the Greek peasants, in the 1960s as well as in the 1920s, kept on living in villages. The talk of "saving time" has little appeal, since the villagers move in a time sequence quite unrelated to the concept of the industrialized West. They ask, "Save time for what?" As an aside, it is of interest to note that whereas the Greek villager becomes bored when one talks of saving time, he listens intently when one suggests ways of increasing his income, adding to his food supply, or helping him meet his taxes.

Another deterrent to the settlement on the independent farmsteads was noted by Henry Morgenthau, who had been United States Ambassador to Turkey (1913–16) before serving as Chairman of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission, established by the League of Nations. He called it the "hiving" habit of Greek families, which led those coming from one village in Asia Minor to try to relocate together in a new community in Greece. His observations, though couched in superlatives, are well worth repeating:

> The Greek character has special qualities that had to be taken into account [in resettlement]. Like his ancestors, the modern Greek is an intense individualist. Interference with his personal independence, or his freedom to order his life in his own way, is sharply resented. Every Greek has his own ideas about everything and hesitates neither to express them nor to act upon them. He would be quite impossible to manage were not this disintegrating characteristic counterbalanced by his equally intense social instinct. He is the most gregarious of human beings and will not live where he cannot foregather in the evening with his fellows. The daily gatherings in the local café are as dear to the heart of the Greek as were the weekly gatherings at the meeting house to the Puritans of old — and for many of the same reasons. . . .[6]

Furthermore, as Morgenthau also pointed out, new houses could be provided much more quickly and inexpensively in a village setting than if each house had to be constructed all by itself at considerable distance from all other houses.

Reconstruction also had to be carried out after World War II and the close of the guerrilla war. Along with this there was some relocation of villages because the old sites were considered too inaccessible or the means of livelihood too precarious. One such place was Menithi, on the seacoast of Western Greece, where three hundred families were settled between 1949 and 1951. They had come from two communities in the mountains about five or six hours' walk away. Their home villages had been destroyed three times: by the Italians, then by the Germans, and finally by the Communist Antartes. The peasants were primarily agricultural and livestock producers but knew nothing of the sea. As we talked with them in the plateia, within a stone's throw of the sea, some of the men asked, "What do we shepherds know about fishing?" and others, with disgust in their

1:Sanders Z-5,+ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

public facilities can also be provided where the people are concentrated in villages.

Students of village life, in addition to deciding why settlements are found where they are, also try to describe the different shapes which the settlements assume. In Greece one finds a great many compact (nucleated) villages in which the lanes move in all directions from the central square and houses are built along these lanes. Another type, found, for instance, in the northern Peloponnesos between Corinth and Patras, is the line village which extends like a ribbon along some main highway and has little depth in either direction. Sometimes these line villages also follow a narrow river valley. In any event, the lay of the land contributes to the shape of the settlement, as well as to its aesthetic effect upon the passerby.

The Importance of Roads

One need not sit in the village square or around a fire in the main room of a peasant's house very long before learning that roads are important topics of conversation.[1] They loom large in the peasant's consciousness, revealing a growing desire on the part of the villagers for a rapid link with the outside. Their isolated world is breaking down, much to their joy, and they are feeling more and more a part of the body politic of Greece.

Today one can travel to most of the major towns of Greece on relatively narrow but high-speed, black-topped roads. Every few miles an all-weather gravel road leads off from these highways to serve a number of villages through which it winds; it also serves an even greater number connected with it by a road passable only in good weather or by a donkey track over which no motor vehicle can travel. Many familiar with the contribution of the American aid program to Greece maintain that, aside from the turning of the tide against the Communist guerrillas, the most lasting reminder of American help will be the greatly expanded road system. In Northern Greece, in particular, military roads are being constructed through areas which formerly were hours away from any contact with trucks or buses; and in all parts of Greece villagers through the "personal labor" program are building roads to connect their communities with some good highway not too far away.

Sensing the stress placed upon roads, we began to talk to people about the difference that a new road made to the villages it reached. Everywhere the testimony was much the same. One nomarch (or prefect) gave this explanation: "With a new road the state functions can be more immediately brought to the people. The new agricultural extension program can be taken to a village on a road and people can go to the center to talk to the officials. But there are more gradual changes as well: the peasant wants to improve his home because his wider travel helps him see a better life; he wants to keep his home cleaner."

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TABLE 2. CAUSES OF DEATH IN GREECE, 1950, BY NUMBER AND RATE

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Cause of death	Number	Death rate (per 1000 people)
Heart disease	3270	.427
Cancer	2730	.358
Cerebral hemorrhage	2679	.352
Tuberculosis (respiratory)	2214	.293
Senility	1954	.258
Pneumonia	1523	.201
Nephritis	1284	.168
Violent accidents	1259	.165
Causes unknown	1166	.154
Congenital debility	998	.132
Diarrhea, enteritis	973	.128
Other tuberculosis	634	.083
Other diseases of digestive system	629	.082
Other infectious diseases	621	.081
Diseases of the liver	511	.067

Source: Mutual Security Agency Mission to Greece, *Medical and Sanitary Data on Greece* (Athens, 1952), p. 62 (mimeographed).

diseases which give the health authorities most cause for concern are tuberculosis, dysentery, typhoid and paratyphoid, venereal diseases, smallpox, various intestinal parasites, and particularly infectious hepatitis.

Of these causes of death, tuberculosis creates the greatest problem for those interested in preventive medicine, for it is commonly recognized that the reported death rate, 29.3 per 100,000 people, is probably less than half of the true figures. Greek peasants can therefore take small comfort in the fact that tuberculosis death rates in the urban areas are more than twice as high as those for rural districts, since this still means relatively high rates in the villages. Although the government is attacking tuberculosis with considerable vigor, the public response is only half-hearted. One of the first jobs of the UNRRA–World Health Organization mission after the war was to try to persuade the tuberculous to recognize their illness, to take treatment, and to realize that it was no disgrace to be ill.

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753
744
177

However, in most families it is still considered a shame to have the disease, so much so that cases are hidden and doctors are even paid for not reporting cases to the public-health authorities. Although undernourishment is frequently associated with the high incidence of the disease, in Greece malaria has been a contributory cause by undermining resistance to the tuberculosis bacillus.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 241 main crop because the peasant can harvest them before the great heat of summer descends and the countryside lies parched and torpid under the blazing sun.

Land Reform (Thessaly)

423 Attica was selected as the best illustration of land ownership in Greece, but Thessaly, with the richest land in Greece, almost selects itself to illustrate modern Greek land reform.[13] The size of the farm holding in Thessaly [241] averages just over eleven acres, which is the highest of any province: the figure is less than ten acres in Macedonia, Thrace, and Central Greece; just over five acres in Epirus and the Peloponnesos; and less than five acres on the islands. No wonder that now and then I encountered what can best be termed "land-hungry peasants," particularly where they thought that the government, through its program of land redistribution, was in a position to turn over to them at a reasonable figure the fields of some estate not yet fully reduced to the proper size set by the land-reform law.

This was the case in 1953 in Thomai, a village not far from Larissa, the capital city of Thessaly. I was driving the director of agriculture in Larissa out on his inspection trip through the neighboring area where a severe rainstorm had damaged the nearly ripe wheat. The road, stretching for [177] miles between grain fields, was headed in the direction of Trikkala and passed the Larissa Forest Nursery, whose sign linked it with the Marshall [243] Plan. Farther on, in recently harvested grain fields, a few gleaners were bending over the golden stubble in the hot sun, gathering their winter's bread supply like Ruth who gleaned in the fields of Boaz. In rich Thessaly, [735] there are few gleaners now, but the unwritten law permitting gleaning still [671] exists for those poor villagers who need it.

During the drive the discussion centered about the problem of land reform. The director was reluctant to visit Thomai because he had not yet received any final instructions from Athens to help him answer the questions he knew the villagers would ask about some promised increase in their land. The Land Reform Law of 1917 had boldly attacked the prob- 423 lem of the big estates, and its gradual application had eliminated tenancy 427 throughout most of Greece by 1930. Around 1922 the influx of refugees, [671] with their desperate need for land, speeded up the redistribution. This law still permitted certain classes of landlords to hold up to 500 acres although requiring them to dispose of acreages above that amount. As the result of [792] further government action in 1952, the archbishop of the national church had agreed to the sale of the monastery estates, which accounted for a little more than one fourth of the 1.5 million acres to be turned over to private proprietors in this new redistribution program. Another type of landlord living in Larissa had formerly owned about half of the rich Thessaly plain; he had given up most of the land, keeping the 500-acre maximum holding.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

423 178 past and discontent with the present was a compensation for their feeling of inferiority to the other villagers about them. Their slowness to adopt anything new showed up in small ways. Noting that the flies were bad at the café, I asked them what they thought of DDT. "Oh, that's wonderful," they said. "The English brought in DDT just at the end of the war and for two years we weren't bothered with flies at all. But now the flies are back and I guess we'll have to put up with them." Flies, of course, were only a minor irritation. They complained of many greater difficulties.

[177] [825]

423 "We are becoming overpopulated. We are increasing. A person with seven children can't feed them properly on fifteen acres. If we tried to stop children from coming someone would say that we were being anti-religious."

And then another added, "If we only get our pasture land, we will be content."

"Are you sure of that?" someone asked. "If you had one hundred fifty acres instead of fifteen, wouldn't you still think that too little? Isn't that human nature?"

The director, perhaps to even up the score of what was a trying experience for him, sent a parting shot which made the men grin sheepishly: "Really, now, this talk of your getting the pasture land is a little beside the point. Actually, you are already profiting from this land, since — contrary to the law — you are now letting your animals pasture there during the night in the belief that nobody knows what you are doing. But let us hope that soon the land will be yours and you won't have to try to be so clever." The frank, rather acrid discussion ended, as most Greek café arguments do, with at least the appearance of good humor.

[685] [521]

423 241 Thomai in Thessaly pointed up one aspect of land reform — land redistribution. However, no matter how disturbed the Thomai peasant became about it, the crucial aspect of land reform in Greece today is not redistribution. The government has scraped bottom in its search for more land for the peasants. What is more desperately needed, from the standpoint of efficient farm management, is the concentration of an owner's scattered strips into one compact holding which can be worked as a unit.[14] One traditional way of decreasing the disadvantages of the divided holdings is the *domka* system of Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace under which the entire area of the community is divided into three sections.[15] In any given year all of the land owned by the various families of the community in one section is planted with the predominant crop, a second section lies fallow for a year, and the third section is kept fallow for a longer period and is used for pasture. Obviously the abandonment of the fallow part of the rotation cycle and the increasing use of cover crops or fertilized commercial crops makes the domka system outmoded.

[311]

Vlachs EH15
1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos
Sara Katsani EH14

do not go far toward meeting the basic economic issues faced by the shepherd today.

As we talked with these shepherds, all of them dressed shabbily in patched trousers and coats and none of them in the traditional white kilt (*foustanella*), I realized again the inexorable push of social change. Americans by the hundreds in Greece were diligently and intelligently teaching Greek farmers how to improve their agricultural methods, how to make use of fallow land without losing its fertility, and even encouraging the plains farmers to keep more sheep or cows of their own for milk production. But to the degree that these sensible, reasoned programs succeed, to that extent the shepherds of the mountain villages face what we call in impersonal terms "occupational displacement."

These were my thoughts as I reflected on the experience of my acquaintances in Valtetsi and the shepherds from other Peloponnesian villages with whom I talked at many roadside stops. As background for their hesitant but sincere discussion of their problems is the recollection of the natural setting for our conversations: the brilliant bloom of wild flowers, the blue flax blossoms, the tender new green of the mulberry trees, the leaves pushing out from the gray fig trees standing in terraces on the mountainside, and the vineyards and olive groves stretching out far below, with the shimmering indigo sea off in the distance. Close at hand the earth looked stony and inhospitable to growing things, but always at a little distance the springtime colors caught the eye and made one glad to be in Greece. Now and then I found the shepherds themselves appreciatively viewing the scene around them while keeping a careful watch over their dusty, weary sheep which still had many miles ahead before reaching the succulent summer pastures. I had a feeling that these men on the move would be the first to agree that transhumance in the Peloponnesos, though beset with many problems and facing a clouded future, still had its compensations in the serene beauty of the land through which they walked.

The "Nomads" of Epirus

I had no idea when I left the Peloponnesos and its sheep-filled roads that a month later I would be encountering the same kind of migration in Epirus, the rugged and legendary northwestern province of Greece.

There was one important difference between the shepherds whom I met in Epirus and those in the Peloponnesos. The latter, such as the people of Valtetsi, had been bona fide Greek rancher-peasants who just happened to live in mountain villages where transhumance was their basic adaptation to their environment. In Epirus the shepherds were "nomads," who from time immemorial have made their circuits through Albania, what is now Yugoslavia, southern Bulgaria, and Northern Greece.[4] They dress differently from the Greeks; their dwellings are very different; and some of them

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
Vlachs EH15

covered with homemade blankets. The necessary water cask was also there. As we sat in front of the tent, we saw a scene of unusual beauty. The sun, setting in a red splash behind the Albanian mountains, was reflected in the Aoos River flowing in a small stream through its broad gravel bed; off to our right, the town of Konitsa spread like a jeweled fan up the hill. When we stood to warm ourselves at the fire, we saw a three-quarter moon rising behind the black mountain which towered just behind the tents, the moonlight on its patches of snow. The smoke of the campfire, the dogs barking, the puppies and lambs romping in the tent, the occasional neighing of the hobbled horses, made a scene that was distinct from the usual Greek evening landscape. It was incredibly different in time, too, from the atomic age, although in space only a score of miles from the Iron Curtain and twenty-eight flying hours from New York.

Berates' daughter, Vasilike, had been engaged for two years to a boy whom she had never seen but who was picked out for her by her father. As the father phrased it, "the word is given." At this point in the conversation, flustered and greatly embarrassed, Vasilike went into the neighboring tent to make some sirupy coffee. When we asked our host if his people had a dowry system, he grunted and said: "Ten years ago women took only their household equipment as a dowry; now they've started giving flocks as dowries. This accursed custom of the dowry has come up to us from the cities." Later, while we were sipping the coffee Vasilike brought, one of the shepherd boys came to play his flute for us. Because this was Saturday, the women two tents down the line had all washed their hair, with the exception of one little girl who was even then doing so in a small, shallow oven pan. The others had gotten to the stage of having their hair plaited. We could hear them at it, laughing and talking. But as the time dragged on, as darkness came down, and the sheep had not arrived, a nervousness became apparent in the camp. Everyone was marking time, waiting for the sheep.

At long last, the tension broke as we heard the flocks come nearer. They arrived at 9:30, and the available men, six in all, began the milking. A barricade of saddles, firewood, and thistles had already been made in which there was a small opening. The men seated themselves, three on a side, at the opening. The sheep were driven slowly up to the opening, and as a ewe came through one of the men would grab her by the hind leg and then proceed to milk her. Here, as elsewhere in Greece, the women never milked the sheep, nor the men the goats, although extra hands would have shortened considerably the tedious job that extended far into the night.

After the milking was well under way, Vasilike put a frying pan full of strained milk on the fire to boil. She then brought us a bowl of this warm, rich liquid to eat with bread and cheese. The bread had been purchased along the way and was paid for by cash from the milk sold en route. While

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tives who approach him than he would to others. A Greek who has gone to the United States will send money first to his own parents for their use or for the use of his younger brothers and sisters; then, if he has enough, he may give some to his poorer relatives — who are usually not backward about making their needs known. In some villages the rich men who give generously to their relatives are said to do so in the hope that more people will light candles for them. Kinship and matters related to it are discussed a great deal by village folk, a testimony to its interest and importance in their lives. What varies most of all throughout the country is the extent to which Western and urban ideas have penetrated to the point that individuals think primarily of their own immediate family and only secondarily — and perhaps only a little — about the larger family connection of which they are a part. Nevertheless, throughout the country, among all types of villagers, the family is still the basic unit; the father is supposedly "the head of the house"; and children "know their place."

One of the most straightforward characterizations of Greek family life I heard came not from a social worker, a home economist, or a political leader who knew the villagers well; it came from a bright but uneducated peasant girl who was asked to tell about the family life in her village in the northern Peloponnesos:

> The immediate family consists of the father and mother, and the children and parents of the family heads. There are usually no other relatives living in the house.
>
> The duties of the man: his highest duty is to provide a dowry for his daughters; send sons to school; enlarge the house; add to the fields.
>
> The duties of the wife: to have children and look after them; to look after her husband (have him clean, feed him, be obedient to him); clean the house; do all the work and see that the boys are good workers; start weaving and embroidery for the daughters' dowry; work in the field; respect older people; see that religious ceremonies are observed in the home. The duties of the mother are severe, for the father is out all the time — during the day he works and in the evening he is in the coffeehouse.
>
> The duties of children: to be good at school; at home obedient (although they seldom are); respect older people; work during part of leisure time, not because their work is needed but because they should get used to working.
>
> The duties of old people: to look after the little children, take them away to give the wife some quiet; tell stories to the children; and otherwise do what they like. When sons and daughters marry, the old people expect the young folks to take over and let them rest.

This thumbnail sketch of Greek family life provides a general outline into which hundreds of colorful details can be fitted. Many of these revolve about the role of the woman in the home and her relationship with her husband and children.

1:Sanders Z-5# (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

does not hurt the dignity of the wife to be turned down, whereas it would make the man lose face.

Those familiar with village family life point out that wife beating is almost a thing of the past because women are learning that this is not the general rule and need not be endured. When I asked groups of young men whom I interviewed whether they thought they would ever beat their wives, one man said, "I probably will if I get drunk." Several said that they would beat her if she was not good, but they had a hard time defining what they meant by being "good." Another young man pointed out, "If my wife does not behave, I will make suggestions. If she doesn't change her ways, then I'll beat her." Beating, then, is no pastime but a last resort for keeping a wife in line. From time to time, a village woman may threaten to sue for divorce, but this is generally interpreted in the village as a desire on her part "to be fashionable" rather than as a way out of a bad bargain. Divorces are still under the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts and are very difficult to obtain. The growing legal rights of women as well as the social changes under way are making the woman, as well as her husband, think of herself as a human being and not as property to be owned and ordered about. This holds true in the villages as well as in the cities.

In 1952 the women were first given the right to vote in national elections, but they are rarely elected to an office and seldom make their way into governmental positions traditionally held by men. Village men generally agree that it is proper for women to have the vote but maintain that their women are not sufficiently educated to use the ballot wisely. In Attica a villager said that the women of his village were not yet "ripe" enough to be members of the local council, but then he added: "But we men just don't like the idea — that's nearer the truth." This lack of "ripeness" was interesting in view of the fact that in 1930 women won the right to vote in municipal elections if they could read and write and were over thirty years of age. In 1949 this was changed to allow any woman twenty-one years of age to vote, even if illiterate, in municipal elections.[9]

Nevertheless, any peasant woman who wants to get along with her husband had best concern herself with her household duties and assist in the farm tasks as best she can. Very much preoccupation with "women's rights" would tend to make her a spectacle in the village, thereby subjecting her husband to much teasing by the other men. If there is a public meeting, she is not supposed to attend, although she may stand with other women on the edge of the square to see the notables arrive and to watch proceedings from a distance. Americans connected with the United States Mission to Greece have adopted the tactic of trying to draw the women into more active participation in these public meetings and have been fairly successful in some of the villages where they have worked most intensively.

The patterns of deference required of women and their so-called rights

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

In Greece today one finds an interesting mixture of traditional child-care practices and those based on Western medical knowledge. For one thing, swaddling is almost universally followed for at least three months. The peasants tell you that the baby must be swaddled if it is to grow straight, tall, and strong. This was the answer of a mother of a three-month-old infant in Leptochoria, a village near Kilkis, Macedonia. Although she had spent four years in urban Thessalonike during the guerrilla war, her ideas of child care had undergone little change. She never dreamed that there was any other way to take care of a baby than to swaddle it. She saw no need to point out the obvious advantages of being able to hang the tight little bundle under a shady limb near the field where she worked, or of being sure that the baby would not wriggle itself into a fall while the mother temporarily left the room where it was propped up.[4]

But when we talked about the field the mother said, "I took the baby with me to the field twice but each time it got sick. So the next time I go I shall leave it with a neighbor."

"Suppose you were working in the field and your husband were at home, would he take care of it?"

"Oh, he would look after it but he wouldn't change it." And then she summed up the different approaches of the two parents: "The woman will nurse the child when it cries; the man will slap it."

According to anthropologist Dorothy Lee, the child-care manuals published in Athens recommend nursing by the mother until the fourteenth month or even up to two years and deplore the use of a wet nurse; they urge against the handing of crusts or bones to the infants since fragments might lodge in the throat. Apparently, the rigid schedule of feeding which they urge is little observed in the villages, nor is the use of the crib or bassinet as substitute for the swing cradle which is in common use.

In pursuing the subject of child care, one confronts a cultural trait in Greek life — namely, an abhorrence of the naked body. One would think that the descendants of those who honored Phidias and Praxiteles would have a different conception of the body. Few, if any, Greek mothers enjoy the baby's bath as a part of the day's proceedings, for the infant's nakedness is covered as quickly as possible and no joy is taken in seeing its body in motion. This attitude of avoiding nudity persists everywhere, even in the husband-wife relationship, and contrasts strongly with the mixed bathing in the nude which one finds in many cultures or the stress upon the human form in many segments of Western society. Greeks, with whom this trait was discussed, tie it in with the Greek feeling of individualism which demands that some portions of one's personality and even the over-all view of one's body be kept to oneself — not through prudery of false modesty but because some things are never completely shared with another.

The disciplining of children in the Greek villages varies from harshness

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Saturday; in other villages it may be on Thursday evening or Friday. Now and then one may come upon a group of women making use of a neighborhood oven where combined efforts mean greater economy of fuel. More and more, village bakers are relieving housewives of the baking chores, although the women must prepare the loaves and other food for the oven. Throughout rural Greece the bread is usually dark, since only about 2.5 percent of the bran is extracted.

It is hard to think of Greek food, however, without thinking of the resinated wine that is served to guests with the meal. Foreign travelers never fail to react quite strongly to the taste and properties of this unusual drink. Z. D. Ferriman in his *Home Life in Hellas* (1910) describes it as

> a beverage whose odour has been compared to various things — furniture polish and melted sealing-wax among others. A high dignitary of the Church from Constantinople said of it many centuries ago, that it resembled the juice of the pine tree rather than that of the grape, an observation that is strictly true. To the novice it is extremely nauseous, and some people never acquire the taste. To the Greek it is nectar. He lauds its flavour of turpentine on account of its alleged peptic qualities.[1]

On holidays and special occasions the men, as already noted, may drink ouzo.

In addition to her preoccupation with food, although it is served simply and in limited variety, the housewife also has to spend much time preparing clothes for her family. This holds true even though the villagers throughout Greece no longer wear the highly embroidered costumes of two or three generations ago and have adopted the Western style of dress. Some villages, such as Megara near Athens, with an eye on the tourist dollar, are exceptions to this rule, for their streets become resplendent on Sundays and holidays as some of the residents stroll in traditional dress. There are, however, little touches of costume which vary from one region to another. The nomadic peoples, described earlier, can always be identified by their black garb; the Turkish men of Thrace by their baggy trousers and fezzes and their women by veils and ballooning Turkish trousers.

But the Greek peasant styles are becoming more uniform. In the northern Peloponnesos the women wear as a standard work garment a skirt and a blouse, along with heelless pigskin moccasins, pointed at the toe. In many other parts of Greece a chemise, with or without sleeves, is common. These garments and their underwear are woven and sewn at home; the "woolies" which are worn in cold weather are knitted by the women. On Sunday the women wear a "best" dress, which they may have bought in town or at least modeled on a dress someone else obtained there. Underneath is the customary slip. Regular Western shoes with heels are a part of the dress-up outfit. When the women are working outside they wear headscarfs, with the

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[VIII]

Courtship and Marriage

177 834 581 593 A young woman, who had grown up in the traditionally sheltered way in a Greek village, after spending several months in an American university, made these comments:

> The father here in America is like a brother instead of a father.
>
> I like the way the American mother reasons with the children and doesn't order them around.
>
> In Greece you never tell anybody about your boy friend — not even your parents. Over here people talk about private matters. If you should do so in Greece, your parents would throw you out of the house.
>
> In Greece we marry for love; in America you love without marrying.

831 834 593 [581] One may question the last statement as far as the Greek villager's marrying for love is concerned; but there is no question about the Greeks' stress upon keeping the boys and girls apart until they are married. The honor, or chastity, of the bride is a value of great importance, and any breach of the sex mores may have dire social consequences. To be sure, there are violations of this taboo and in many areas a gradual erosion of the rigid enforcement, but in rural Greece one can count upon parents and brothers actively to try to safeguard a young woman's honor. This is even institutionalized in what is called *e time tou adelphou* (the honor of the brother), [577]

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585 the return from the church and then distributes the pieces to the guests. In the same place, an open lock is placed in the groom's pocket before he goes to the church, and it is shut tight during the ceremony to signify that the union will not be broken.

585 178 Another widespread custom is the attempt on the part of the bride to try to step on the groom's foot during the ceremony when she has to promise to obey; being forewarned, the groom tries to step on her foot, for this is supposed to show who will be the boss of the new home. Couples who want to appear modern agree in advance not to compete in this respect, although in ceremonies around Larissa it is not unusual for the groom's friends to call out to him to be sure the bride does not step on his foot. Another touch of modernity is the honeymoon to Athens, which some of the couples in the more prosperous villages of Thessaly think an important part of getting married.

591 583 [423] As would be expected, each couple wishes to move into a house of its own. In some parts of Thrace, where there is still communal land, a plot may be given to a young man on which to build a house; or he may find room for a new dwelling not far from the parental home, providing the house is his responsibility and not the girl's. The determining factor, however, is the cost of building a new home. Elsewhere in Greece, if the bride brings enough gold sovereigns, they may be used to help pay for the cost of a home; or if the bride brings a new house, as she does in the islands, then the couple is set up for separate housekeeping.

In the Peloponnesos, where there is no longer much communal land, it is not unusual for the bride's parents to provide a strip of land on which a new home is to be built. In the dowry discussions they agree to give money to the future son-in-law in two stages: first, an amount sufficient for the construction of the house which he builds according to the girl's wishes and after much discussion with her. This sum must be spent on the house. The second installment is in land or money to cover the cost of furnishing the new home. The young man has the responsibility for seeing that the house is built, but the house belongs to the bride.

591 596 [177] Where there is no new home available, it is most common for patrilocal residence to follow, and the girl must learn to adjust to the family circle of her husband. But the Greek peasant is practical enough to decide each case on its merits. If the girl's family has greater need of a man, then the couple will go to her home to live. For example, if the girl has no brother and she is to inherit her parents' house, then the couple go to live there. Only in a few parts of Northern Greece, where Slavic influence is found, do two or more married brothers live as a joint family with their elderly parents. In most Greek villages one of the brothers, often the eldest, inherits the ancestral home, and it is expected that the other brothers will manage to set up separate establishments.

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535 ing abyss below, with their children clasped in their arms. "Farewell ye
[773] springs, ye forests, ye mountain-ridges" begins the folksong which accompanies this dance.[8] Thus the dance keeps alive in the memory of the people what their forebears suffered under the alien Turks. The *zervos*, another syrtos dance, is "left-handed" in that the dancers move from left to right rather than in the customary direction from right to left.

Perhaps the most picturesque leaping dance is the *tsamikos* of Epirus, the region where the Souliote women lived. In dancing this even today the men sometimes wear their small arms as they used to many years ago, reminiscent of the ancient Pyrrhic armed dances. This dance and the
[186] zalongos, mentioned above, have done much to re-emphasize the stereo-
[829] typed image common throughout Greece that Epirus is a place of violence, heroic men and women, and a fortress of the independent spirit. Other leaping dances derive from the *klephts*, or guerrillas who fought against the Turks before Northern Greece gained her independence in this century. The chief dance in Thessaly is the *karagouna*, probably Wallachian in origin; the *yerakina*, which is a Thracian dance, has also become popular throughout Greece.

The most common example of the mixed type is the *hasapikos*, or butchers' dance, which comes down from Byzantine times when the butchers'
[522] guild used this dance on its feast days. Whereas many of the other dances are stately or heroic, this one provides an outlet for considerable comic activity by dancers so inclined. In other words, there are dances to suit everyone's taste and it is up to the leader, who pays the musicians, to call for the dance he wants and at which he is most adept. Certain dances are prescribed for certain occasions but, once the formalities have been observed, other dances can be chosen. It is disconcerting to a visitor, who has
535 been held entranced by the color, intricacies, and ancient lineage of the
177 folk dances, to hear the orchestra strike up some American popular music of twenty or twenty-five years ago and then see the young people shift from the round dances to dancing in couples. Young men who have displayed great agility in their leaps in a klephtic dance now have to be led like sheep by the girls who have taken the trouble to learn a few of the new steps; or if the girls do not know the steps either, the boy, usually a beat or two behind the music, tries to imitate the movements of some good dancer.

527 Thus festival days bring everything one could ask to a village: dances
574 old and new, visitors of every description, wares not often sold locally, and an occasion to eat and drink to one's full capacity without fear of criticism.
[521] Most of all, it gives the community a chance to have its day in the sun, to be the cynosure of the surrounding territory, and to store up incidents which family members and neighbors can talk about in the days ahead.

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exclusive use of the members of the society; and protection by law from interference by outside interests. In return for these privileges, the state reserved the right to approve the by-laws of the cooperatives and to inspect and audit their books.[4] 474 656

Between the two world wars some of the cooperatives took on a compulsory character. For instance, many refugees who were settled on land in the 1920s were formed into cooperatives which could not be dissolved or from which individuals could not withdraw until complete payment was made. In some districts citrus and grape producers were compelled to deliver their products to the cooperatives. Also, compulsory cooperatives, organized by a majority vote of the farmers in a region, could take over the common utilization of land, forests, and pastures, or the task of grafting of barren and wild trees. Quite aside from these compulsory cooperatives and the widespread credit cooperatives, there were many voluntary cooperatives for marketing, production, and insurance against fire, hail, and frost. [167] [241] [456]

In Greece, as in all other Balkan countries, the agricultural cooperatives through the years have been under the supervision of the Agricultural Bank, from which the government channeled credit to the rural sector of the economy. The local societies were grouped into regional cooperative unions. Instead of having to deal individually with each peasant who wanted a loan on his livestock or against the next crop, the government officials could leave the initial screening of applications to local cooperative officials, then to those at the regional level, while reserving for themselves final approval. Under Metaxas, who ruled as a dictator just prior to World War II, the cooperative section of the Agricultural Bank received no support and, in all probability, cooperatives would have found continuation difficult if Metaxas had been in power for a long period.[5] 474 652 [643]

Then came the war years, which were difficult for cooperatives as well as for everything else in Greece. The situation at the end of the war was described in 1946 when the newly created Food and Agriculture Organization, a specialized agency of the United Nations, sent its very first Mission team to Greece to survey the situation and make recommendations. This team, headed by Franklin S. Harris, President of the Utah State College of Agriculture, found that the "machinery" of cooperative activities had developed to such a point before World War II that it could provide an important facility for postwar rural rehabilitation.[6] Most of the FAO Mission's recommendations dealt with ways in which this facility could best be used. However, at least two points were brought out which have a direct bearing upon the peasant himself. The first suggests that greater responsibility be given the local village cooperative, thereby placing more control over making individual production loans, receiving repayments, and keeping the individual loan accounts in the hands of the peasants themselves. The general tendency in most cooperative systems is for the center of gravity 474 177 [652]

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474 to shift away from the village to the national capital, where the Agricultural Bank is located, or to the provincial cities, where the bank has branches to which the individual peasants are supposed to go to "process" their loans.

A second important question touched upon in the FAO report was whether the producers' cooperative ought to be compulsory in one or both of two ways: first, requiring all of those who produce a given commodity (such as tobacco) and who live in a given village to belong to a cooperative and, second, forcing all cooperative members to market their produce and buy their supplies only through the cooperative. The FAO Mission counseled against making the cooperatives compulsory, and the same point of view has been held by most of the American advisers who have worked with the American Aid Mission in Greece. Greek government officials, however, sometimes think that legal sanctions would strengthen cooperatives and thereby tighten the economic machinery through which 10–12 percent of the Greek tobacco crop and about 80 percent of olive oil, to mention but two crops, reach the market.[7]

474 626 The cooperative leaders, however, face a problem of social as well as legal sanctions: they would like to guide the cooperative movement from the stage where each cooperative member is a law unto himself to the point where any farmer who fails to sell his produce through his cooperative has to reckon with the disapproval of his fellow farmers. This can only be done through a long-term program of education which stresses not cooperation as an abstract ideal but the fact that a cooperative organization depends upon the support of every member and is not much stronger than its weakest link. It is in this matter of interpretation, of teaching the villager the meaning of cooperation, that the cooperative movement is not very successful. Cooperative officials are so busy being administrators that they do not take time to be interpreters, to be sure their communication strikes a responsive chord in the peasant. Then, too, they tend to feel that they have so much authority (such as fiscal control) in their hands that they do not have to depend upon the subtler forms of authority — namely, pressure by loyal members upon those who would deviate from what is considered good cooperative practice. This is tied in with the psychological problem of making the members feel that the cooperative is theirs rather than the instrumentality of cooperative and governmental officials who live outside the community.

474 One report by A. W. Willis, an American marketing specialist, goes so far as to say: "The Greek cooperative law makes cooperatives an arm of the Government and actually prohibits member control as well as any profit acquiring to members. The entire agricultural economy of this state could profit through true Cooperatives but not through those now in existence under the present law."[8]

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631 642 this is to be worked out puzzles Greek politicians as much as it does American politicians interested in United States counties, laid out in horse-and-buggy days and ill adapted to today's rapid-transit world. In any combination, one center will gain and the other lose, a fact which has local political repercussions in a democratic system. Some of these become apparent as one views the work of the community council and its president.

The Community Council

207 In Phrangista, a mountain village of Central Greece, I was shaken out of pleasant contemplation as two loudspeakers on the village square suddenly began to inform one and all of the latest news of the day.

275 243 247 This was in the spring of 1953, and we were on a coffeeshop verandah newly made of concrete. Across the dusty thoroughfare, some hens had discovered wheat sheaves drying in front of the house of the carpenter; next door, potted geraniums were blooming in the window of a handsome stone house. We were shut in from the outside world by hazy mountains.

262 The proprietor's wife and daughter had just brought us preserved walnut sweets in a spoon with the traditional glass of water. One spooned the sweets, gulped the water, and commented on the good flavor of the walnuts preserved before they had fully ripened. And then came the radio. These loudspeakers, sounding forth noon and evening, featured the broadcasts from Ioannina, Patras, and Athens. The radio, obviously much more powerful than the battery sets frequently encountered in the ordinary coffeehouse, aroused my curiosity. I turned to the president of the community council, who was sitting nearby. He told me that the radio was community-owned, that it had been placed there by the American Mission, and that it had "brought civilization" to that place. But the more I talked with him, the more I realized that bringing in civilization through this medium created some local administrative problems.

207 177 [422]

The American Mission, preferring to distribute the radio directly to the local authorities rather than through a regular government ministry, stipulated that the community would have to provide the gasoline for the motor which furnished the energy for the radio. So the first problem was to find the money to buy the gasoline, which cost a great deal by the time it was transported over the mountains from Lamia. A second problem was locating someone (in this case, two teen-aged boys) who could operate the complicated machine and tune in the radio. The president proudly reported that on the previous day a screw had worked loose and the program was temporarily interrupted — but only temporarily — for these competent youngsters quickly found the trouble and replaced the screw.

623 653 651 727 Before I left Phrangista, the president wanted me to see the church which the villagers had recently rebuilt. It had been completely and deliberately destroyed by the Nazis. The archbishop had given some funds for its res-

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A final difficulty lies in inadequate personnel and equipment to do many of the highly technical governmental tasks as they should be done. Engineers who are responsible for numerous activities in many villages may not have transportation facilities sufficient to visit these villages as often as would be desirable. Those responsible for accounting and fiscal matters may not have sufficient clerical help to keep up with the work load, thereby delaying reports or requests from local governments.[14]

But despite these difficulties, I would place the crux of the problem of the relationship between local and central government in the attitudes which the officials assume toward villagers and even townspeople. There is something about being an official in Greece that tends to make one officious. The officeholder may not realize this but, as he takes on the roles that go with a new governmental position, he tries to carry an air of authority that does not quite ring true, or else he tries to bolster up his feeling of insecurity by lording it over those who are in some measure under his control. He preserves his own *philotimo*, or self-esteem, by clinging to all the symbols of prestige to the bitter end. I could want no better documentation of this state of affairs than a notice distributed in November 1952 by the Minister of Agriculture, which appeared on the walls of the director of agriculture in Kozane. It read:

Mr. Director:

1. Don't forget that we are the servants of the people.
2. Don't forget that your pay comes from the work and the sweat of the people.
3. Please be polite and just to the people and your employees.
4. Keep working hours; do not go away during working hours which are for the public.
5. Reply willingly and quickly to requests and petitions of the people. "Come by tomorrow" is not accepted.

People — Farmers:

1. Do not ask for illegal things but demand your rights.
2. If you do not get your rights or have complaints write to Complaints Office of the Ministry and you will get a quick reply.
3. Even then, if you don't get justice, write directly to me.

Minister of Agriculture, A. Apostolidis

In official Athens, over the past few years, there has been many a tug of war, sometimes silent and sometimes raucous, between those who would decentralize many functions of government to the local units and those who, for a variety of reasons, would maintain strong central control. It is safe to say that those who favor the former course are those who think of government chiefly as an administrative apparatus through which citizens' needs are met. Certainly, many members of the American Mission have

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631 647 [177] sought to strengthen the hands of those favoring decentralization in the belief that this would accomplish more with American aid money. On the other hand, those who favor strong centralization tend to think of government primarily in political rather than administrative terms. They see government as an arena where personalities and parties struggle for the opportunity of directing the affairs of state. They realize that much political power is built on patronage or at least the promise of patronage; they also argue that the political process is built upon compromise and that many administrative practices are established in governmental bureaus to forestall any such compromises. Which group is prompted more by disinterested, public-spirited motives can best be determined by the observer on the spot as different personalities, representing these varying points of view, step onto the stage.

664 ## The Peasant and Politics

Shortly after my arrival in Greece in the fall of 1952, I encountered an interesting case study of the peasant and politics. All over Greece, one September Sunday, the farmers demonstrated against their government. This affair was treated, as one would expect, quite differently by the various Athenian newspapers, but the general tone of argument never got down to the facts of the peasants' grievance but instead haggled over who was responsible for getting them all stirred up.

[204] One newspaper, *Philelevtheros*, under the caption "The Farmers' Plight," wrote:

> There is no Greek who does not admit the rights of the farmers, or the fact that they are, and always were, the most neglected class in this country. Everyone feels the farmers' plight as if it were his own, and they know that Greek society will never stand on its feet as long as the farmer's lot is a miserable one. Their present fate, however, is not the fault of the Government, but is due to a whole century of reactionary rule. The farmers' demonstrations would have [665] been even stronger and more genuine if the Rally Party agents had not attempted to exploit them. However, they failed in this attempt.

[204] *Ethnos*, a newspaper representing a rival party, reported under the caption "Farmers' Demonstrations":

> Over the whole of Greece, in all those areas where men strive to get the maximum crop from our not very fertile soil, solid demonstrations were held last Sunday. The farmers were protesting with absolutely justified indignation against the indifference the Government is showing in handling their problems, and the way in which it has withdrawn its promises to them.
>
> In the face of this Pan-Hellenic uprising, the Government, through its comic Minister of Coordination, and through its press, finds nothing better to give in

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solidated elementary schools, even if the educational administrators should consider them desirable.

Most villagers show a pride in their school and try to locate it on one of the best sites in the village, quite often near the main square. These buildings come in all sorts of shapes and sizes. In the middle of the Peloponnesos we found a village school over a hundred years old, which had been privately endowed. The building was a one-room, poorly lighted structure which must have been truly grand by standards of a century ago. But today it seemed sadly inadequate for the many children crowded into its rows of benches. In Metsovo, the picturesque Wallachian village between Ioannina (Epirus) and Trikkala, we found an attractive, two-story stone structure of a type characterizing the more prosperous established mountain settlement which furnished pack horses for the caravan routes before the coming of the railroad. In Malakassa, in Attica, we saw a school being built of concrete blocks in 1955 by a joint effort of the American Save the Children Federation and the local village authorities.

An American senator once became interested in the welfare of a village near Mount Olympus, since some of his constituents of Greek descent told him that little was being done to remedy the deplorable conditions there. An American Mission official went to investigate. Part of his report gives a vivid postwar word picture:

> The school was not completely ruined. The roof had collapsed, and the flooring, window-panes and furniture, all made of wood, had been used for firewood. The building remained and is being repaired. Unfortunately, the funds for school repairs are limited throughout Greece. The whole Nomos (Prefecture of Larissa, for instance, in which Kokkinopoulos is located), is comprised of 160 communities, most of the schools of which were damaged to some degree. The Nomos received $21,000 for this purpose, $2,371, of which went into the repair of the school at Kokkinopoulos. The roof has been replaced and the stairs finished, as have two of the four classrooms. In some villages, the State assistance was supplemented by the private initiative of the villagers, either in terms of materials or labor, and the schools were finished. In any case, the two classrooms are considered relatively adequate for the 158 children of school age in the village.[5]

The educational figures for 1956–57 throw some added light on the problem, since they show that there were in the whole country, including the cities, towns, and villages, a total of 8,527 elementary schools with about 940,000 pupils, or an average of 112 per school.[6] The chances are that in most village schools there are from 50 to 60 children per room, if the room happens to be large enough to accommodate that many, since approximately 60 percent of all elementary schools have one room and a single teacher.[7]

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873 tion between this curriculum and the requirements of farming in the village. The peasants recognize this, for they do not send the eldest son, who is to take over the farm, to such a school. Some completing the gymnasium will go on to get a university diploma and will therefore find this curriculum directly related to their needs in many university courses. Others [647] will go no further than the completion of high school, but this will be enough to open up certain government jobs to them.

874 But what of the eldest son who expects to farm? Is his education to stop at the sixth grade? In most cases it does, but there are about eight government agricultural high schools in Greece where boys can go to learn to be better farmers. Some of these government schools admit boys who have finished the fourth grade and others require the sixth grade, but all give those who complete the course through the eighth grade a certificate. [647] Here, again, the graduates are not so much interested in going back to their family's small farm as in going on to government jobs in the Ministry of Agriculture as technicians. In the school in Phlorina one can study horticulture and viticulture; in Kozane winemaking has recently been added to horticulture and viticulture; in Ioannina the emphasis is upon dairying and in Larissa upon cheesemaking and horticulture. The others, in the Peloponnesos and Crete, also stress horticulture and viticulture. In addition to the government schools, there are four private agricultural schools: [177] The American Farm School in Thessalonike,[12] and schools in Konitsa, Amaroussi, and the island of Chios. The two government Superior Schools of Agriculture are near Athens and Thessalonike and rank at the university level.

871 The lower agricultural schools as well as certain technical schools in [874] carpentry, brickmaking, and the like, set up by the King's Institute, are viewed by Greeks as training schools rather than as paths to becoming an educated man. In other words, education in Greece is utilitarian in that its pursuit helps one achieve life goals in the government bureaucracy and the social structure of the country; it is not utilitarian in the sense of preparing one for practical or vocational matters while absorbing at the same time general education from courses in language, history, mathematics, and the like. Greece, in this respect, follows the traditional European pattern.

871 Many Greeks are acutely aware of their educational problems. One 369 nomarch told of a move toward closing down some of the classical gymnasiums and putting young people into trade schools. "But this presents problems," he said, "because the boys who finish think they are carpenters or blacksmiths and don't want to go back to the village." He thought the attack upon the flight of the educated people to the cities must begin with the mothers, for it is they who say: "But, son, you have your education; you can't go work in the fields."

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783 788 because the mere act of bringing whatever they had to contribute gave them an emotional uplift.

793 [737] [874] [177] But still we had not seen the end of the bishop's good works. In 1949 he had organized a home for the aged where seventy elderly people live in relative comfort. The most ambitious project of all, however, was a polytechnic school started for the youth of the area. He had already spent about $37,000 on the first floor alone. The school had opened the previous November (1952) and already had two hundred pupils. Here was an institution that the Marshall Plan had helped. The school bore the name Papaflessa, in honor of one of the Greek patriots of the war of independence. While looking over this school we also learned about one more activity, a hospital of one hundred and fifty beds whose foundation had just recently been laid by the bishop and his coworkers.

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793 The financing of even one of these undertakings, not to say the whole complement of institutions, would be a staggering task in any country, especially in one as poorly endowed as Greece. Although the bishop never confided the secret of his success, I heard from others that skillful diplomacy had stood him in good stead. He would start with a certain amount that he could take from his bishop's fund; he would then go to Athens and persuade the people in the Welfare Ministry that local people would match the funds of the central government if it would contribute; then, back home, he would call together the leading businessmen and say that he could get so much from the central government if they would put up such-and-such an amount. Since all parties did their share, he was able to get the necessary money for capital expenditures.

793 794 [428] [769] For the operation of these institutions, and their total number of inmates or patients is considerable, he draws upon other resources. Some of the people in his diocese upon death will to some specified institution their homes, olive groves, or money. Instead of having an expensive memorial service, with several priests, for a dead relative at the stated periods required by the church, the people are having simple memorial services and giving the difference in what they would pay to an institution; instead of buying expensive wreaths, they are giving the money to the foundling home, the sanatorium, or perhaps the old people's home. The bishop, too, has organized the rural parishes so that each parish turns over olive oil, meat, cheese, and eggs to a person who collects this produce and distributes it to the institution. Or, as already mentioned, some of the people want to bring their contributions in person. Many are asked to donate labor: one builds a door, another puts in windows, and everybody has a sense of participating.

Visiting the bishop raised many questions in my mind about all that I had learned in America about modern child-welfare practices, care of the aged, and the like. Social work as a profession is just getting a start in Greece; much humanitarian activity is carried on by upper-class women of

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15. The schoolmaster and his pupils by their century-old school, Kyparissia, Peloponnesos. Originally the school was privately endowed.

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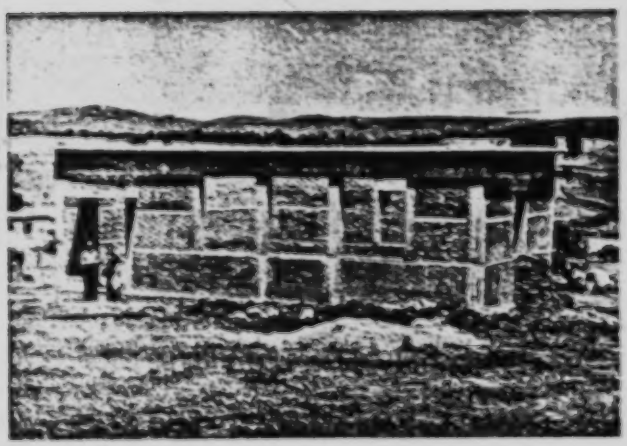

[177] 16. A school building under construction in Malakasa village, new promise for two dozen children. The Save the Children Federation provides the materials; Malakasa, the labor.

[p. 272-J]

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554 875 793 622 [729] [561]

not necessarily considered in the select group unless they held some other office such as community president. In Northern Greece, if a villager has achieved renown by fighting in one of the wars for the liberation of Macedonia, he will rank high. He becomes the personification of local history, and what he says about the war will be given more credence than what the textbooks say. He was there and saw things with his own eyes.

A generation or two ago one's age had much to do with the respect shown to him but this value is shifting:

> Older people used to be the leaders. Now the tendency is toward the educated and wealthy, although the community president is chosen much on the same basis as before. He generally ranks first in importance. The teachers and priests are better-educated than they used to be so their influence is greater.

The above sentence seems to contradict the observation that as people become more educated they rely less on the teacher and priest. What actually happens is that the basis for respecting these two notables shifts. In villages where a progressive spirit is abroad, if they show an interest in doing things for the community and are not merely functionaries carrying out the narrow round of activities connected with their jobs, then they acquire prestige. But it is only the better-educated priests and teachers who show any genuine community orientation. This was reaffirmed by a nomarch in the Peloponnesos who, while listing the president of the community as actually and legally the most important man, also observed: "On the other hand, a teacher or priest may rank high due to outstanding personality characteristics."

554 167 ●177

I noticed in Central Greece and the Peloponnesos that from time to time some native son, who had spent several years in the United States, would be included with the notables. At first, I wondered whether he was trotted out because he could speak a few words of English, but then I noticed that others who also had been to the States were kept in the background. To receive prestige in many, though by no means all, villages, the returnee must show generosity that no other local inhabitant is expected to demonstrate.

Nor can one overstate the omnipresence of these village Greeks who have spent some time in America.[1] In one village of less than two thousand I found more than forty older men who had been to the United States. The net social effect of this reservoir of foreign experience was almost negligible. One returnee said: "Even if you come back with new ideas, you must conform to life about you, for those ideas are not applicable here. If you stay here you will be like a peasant in a year; if I went back to the States I would become a gentleman again."

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 the First Balkan War (1913), and of recuperating from the First World
648 War, the Greek forces, with the permission of the Great Powers, occupied
727 an area around Smyrna, Turkey. Then they pushed inland in 1921 to attack the Turkish forces under Kemal Pasha in the hope of occupying the part of Turkey peopled by many Greeks. The highly nationalistic Turks, following the defeat of the Greeks, rose against the Greek-speaking residents of Asia Minor as well as the retreating Greek army.

[728 In the Treaty of Lausanne (January 1923) Greece and Turkey agreed
167] to exchange their populations then living under the control of the other, as a result of which over a million Greeks migrated from Asia Minor to Greece proper and over 400,000 Turks left Greece for Turkey. In addition, exchanges of 46,000 Greeks from Bulgaria and 53,000 Bulgarians from Greece [3] followed the Treaty of Neuilly, which dealt with Bulgaria for her participation with the Central Powers in World War I.

178 In my various visits to Northern Greece, I had difficulty in fully appre-
167 ciating the immensity of the impact of these refugees upon Greek national
727 life. I could try to imagine what it must mean for any country, especially one as deficient in natural resources as Greece was in the 1920s, to have 22 percent of its total population made up of recently displaced persons, many of whom were widows and children whose husbands and fathers had perished in the ordeals of Asia Minor. It was as though the United States, which consisted of about 110 million at that time, were to receive over 24 million immigrants in a three- to four-year period, as compared with the figure of just over a million, representing the largest number to arrive in any previous year.

As I listened with interest to the involved story of a single family's flight and their subsequent difficulties, I could comprehend, at least in part, what this experience had meant to them.[4] Or I could follow the complaints of the leaders of a community, such as those in Thomai, Thessaly (Chapter 4), who, as late as 1953, were talking of how much better off they had been when living in caves in Turkey with all the land they wanted to cultivate. Yet, when I tried to multiply these experiences of a few to those of a thousand displaced people, with all of their pent-up emotions and problems, I had to stretch my imagination to the fullest and admit the futility of trying to multiply this thousand by another thousand if I were to seek to encompass the totality of the refugee problem in Greece in the 1920s. No wonder
• [177] the League of Nations stepped in to render assistance, as did philanthropic groups in the United States and elsewhere.

What happens to a nation when it receives newcomers up to one fifth of its total number? What complications arise when these refugees come from different geographic and cultural areas, bound together only by the sense that their families were Greek in origin? By 1952-53, most of these settlers had adjusted to their new conditions and were making significant contribu-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 what they see that other communities have. Nothing is more irksome to
[628] those in one village than to be refused electricity from a power line passing close by when the current is made available to other villages in the region.

Most of the time, unplanned social change takes place as a response by villagers to forces from outside the village which impinge on their way of life. The response may be one of solid resistence to certain types of innovation, even though some individuals are for the change but unwilling to take the necessary social risk of advocating it. At other times, a selective
178 change occurs when villagers choose some new items while rejecting others.
562 They may welcome a new opportunity to send their sons away for more education, but demur at letting their daughters pursue a similar advantage.
666 Now and then, the villagers may accept a new practice and give it a local
[626] twist not contemplated when the practice originated elsewhere. Women,
[593] for instance, have been given the right to vote, but how they exercise this prerogative depends much on local village opinion and the authority of the male family heads. Women who vote just as their husbands tell them to vote, a phenomenon common in many countries other than Greece, are not following the independence of thought and the privacy of ballot which supposedly accompanies the free citizen. But they do vote, which testifies to the fact that an innovation of radical proportions has been accepted.

178 This interaction between outside forces and the willingness or reluctance
185 of local people to change are best brought into focus in the consideration
727 of planned programs of change, which are confronting the villager on every hand.

Planned Change

Immediately after the end of the guerrilla war, programs of welfare and reconstruction were energetically initiated in rural areas which had suffered most. These were designed to help the villagers rebuild their houses and schools, replace draft animals or depleted flocks, obtain implements and
[736] seed. Food staples were also provided where needed. The orphans or otherwise dependent children were brought into special child villages, set up by the Queen's Fund for care and education, until old enough to go out on their own. But these measures, planned chiefly for rehabilitation, also carried with them implications for change. In doing so, they were following a trail previously blazed.

177 Americans past middle age, who contributed to the Near East Relief at
178 the end of World War I, may or may not know that the funds donated so generously at that time were being put to good use long after the immediate relief needs had been met. Its successor, the Near East Foundation, chose Greece as one of its main arenas of operation. The attempts at rural reconstruction, or village improvement, by this organization in cooperation with the Greek government in the 1930s have been fully described by the educa-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tional director, H. B. Allen, in his book *Come Over Into Macedonia*. This program also trained Greek personnel, who were later to play important roles in the rural rehabilitation of Greece. With the coming in, under the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan, of the American Mission to Greece, staffed and financed to deal with rural problems on a tremendous scale, the Near East Foundation decided about 1953 to end its Greek program in order to concentrate on assisting Near Eastern countries not receiving the support which was being officially extended to Greece by the American government. But one of its final achievements was the elementary, but nevertheless very useful, series of village studies conducted by its staff, to which frequent mention has been made in this book. The Near East Foundation was also instrumental in bringing the first Fulbright professor to Greece — Howard W. Beers, who taught the first courses in rural sociology to be given in Greece (at the Superior School for Agriculture, Athens) and who initiated the village studies just mentioned.

Several references have also been made to the American Farm School of Salonica, which celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1955. Founded by Reverend John Henry House, and continued by his son, Charles, and daughter-in-law, Ann, the school has been a vital force in the improvement of agriculture in many sections of Northern Greece. Bruce Lansdale, who succeeded Charles House as director, is also seeing to it that the school, through a community-development program, extends its influence even more directly to the villages. One of its activities is to offer short courses for groups of village leaders — priests, community presidents, and others — who come in to discuss how they can improve life in their communities.

Before World War II, the cooperative movement — described in Chapter 10 — sought to raise the economic conditions of the villages. The Food and Agriculture Organization Mission, viewing the prewar record of the cooperatives, cited in its 1946 report that these organizations had pioneered in the development of bucket pumps, tobacco water-storage tanks, and, through financial aid, the development of improved farm practices. Also, the national government had agricultural specialists who advised villagers on farm problems, but the success of these individuals was minimal as compared to postwar developments.

A survey of prewar programs of planned change, therefore, would indicate that either they reached only special areas where pioneering measures were being tried by private agencies or that they covered the country generally but relatively ineffectively through cooperatives and officials of the Ministry of Agriculture. This is not to imply that rural Greece was static during this period; only that it was not yet receiving the impact of planned change that was to characterize the years following World War II.

In turning to these postwar efforts, a selection has to be made from a wide variety of endeavors. The United Nations, for instance, helped in sev-

1:Sanders Z-514 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

177 464 653 eral ways, and one of the most interesting impacts this body made upon the villages was the program promoted by one of their officials, Glen Leet. It was termed *pronoia dia tes ergassias*, often translated "welfare through employment," which made it possible for villagers to work on some useful community project and be paid minimal wages for their labor. This not only brought some much-needed cash into poor areas but resulted also in actual physical accomplishments which people could see and in which they could take pride. This program, of course, was supplementary to the customary "voluntary" or unpaid labor (*prosopike ergassia*), usually ten days, which able-bodied villagers are supposed to contribute to the community upon call of the community council.[8]

177 207 491 Mention has already been made of a few efforts of the American Mission to Greece — whether called Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA), Mutual Security Administration (MSA), Foreign Operations Administration (FOA), or International Cooperation Administration (ICA). One of these was the attempt to set up radio receiving sets in the most isolated Greek villages so the people there would feel in touch with the outside world; another was the vast road-building program which has left its mark not only upon the Greek countryside but upon the Greek social structure as well. Physical isolation has been broken down on a scale not dreamed possible in the prewar years.

177 178 [241] 654 The American Mission is also largely responsible for the speeded-up mechanization occurring in Greek agriculture in the 1950s. The same holds true for greatly expanded drainage and irrigation projects which increased the production of cotton and rice. To credit the American Mission with these and other developments does not reflect upon Greek ingenuity and desire for progress, for all of these programs were carried out by Greeks and through Greek agencies, but the outside financial and technical assistance had to be present for any large-scale success. A sober evaluation of American aid to Greece is found in a book by that title, written by A. A. Munkman, who was chief of Audits and Surveys of the United States Economic Mission to Greece.[9] While citing the positive achievements, he also inquires into how the two billion dollars supplied could have been better used for the benefit of the Greek people. He deals none too gently with some of the administrative weaknesses and concludes pessimistically that Western influence is steadily losing ground, because the ordinary Greek peasant or worker feels that it promises far more than it fulfills. This goes back, he thinks, to the fact that public opinion is poorly informed about the mechanics of aid.

Without necessarily taking issue with Munkman's conclusion, it is important to point out that, by their very nature, programs of planned change invariably raise peasant expectations beyond the sponsors' ability to satisfy. This need not be a negative fact if the dissatisfaction can be channeled into

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

increased economic activity and not become a disturbing political force. A further fact is the peasant's chronic tendency to assume that he is not getting a square deal, or everything that is due him, because throughout his memory and that of his forebears he has been used to what he considers exploitation by a government or those from the city who would take advantage of him. No aid program can ever create a contented peasantry. Yet it is fair to ask what is being done in Greece today to help the individual villager solve the problems of immediate interest to him. The brightest hope, and one recognized by Munkman, is the creation of the Agricultural Extension Service, so organized as to take advantage of the long American experience in this field, the lessons learned by the Near East Foundation in Greece, and the application by dedicated Greeks of these lessons to contemporary conditions. A comparison between what is now available to the farmer and what was available before the war shows a tremendous gain in his behalf. To be sure, the peasant does not apply all that he is taught by the extension worker, and now and then administrative decrees (such as cutting from the budget the transportation item) limit the effectiveness of the extension worker. But in every part of Greece trained personnel are visiting the villagers and, as never before, showing an interest in their welfare and helping them think through their economic problems. Home-economics workers, working with the farm women, are also making considerable headway.

When I investigated social changes occurring between 1952-53 and 1959, those whose knowledge of Greek village life I have found to be most accurate said, "Certainly the greatest change you will find is the development of the agricultural-extension program and the service it is rendering." In other words, the central government is sending "change agents" [10] throughout Greece to help initiate improvements in farming and homemaking, and it is not waiting for the peasants to journey to Athens for answers to their problems. There are limits to what any professional staff can do, but to the extent that these extension workers, both men and women, receive necessary support, to that extent one will find rapid change in the countryside.

Mention has already been made, in Chapter 15, of the organizations being set up in Greek villages by the extension service as well as by the Queen's Fund. This fund concentrates primarily upon Northern Greece and through its village welfare centers seeks to raise the educational, cultural, and economic level of the villages. The King's Fund is interested in the villager. In September 1959 I visited near Athens the handsome Community Development Training Center, financed by this fund, where I met with a group of about fifty teachers who had been invited there, with all expenses paid, to study how teachers can be agents of community improvement. When I joined the group, they were listening to a lecture on scientific beekeeping so that they could talk intelligently on this subject to their pupils and the pupils' parents.

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177 178 653 During this same September 1959 visit I had occasion to review, as on a previous occasion, the community-development program of the Save the Children Federation, an American organization. It contributes its funds, set aside for community development, only if the adults of the community agree to make contributions of their own (labor, materials, money) to the construction of a better school, the installation of a public water supply, the planting of a school orchard, or the construction of a dock to bring economic advantages to an otherwise bypassed coastal village.

177 178 [65] Anyone trying to cover completely the numerous programs designed to change village life for the better would find them springing up in a variety of places. The official government programs, each under one of the ministries, cover a wide range of activities. Agriculture is more adequately represented than health, education more than social welfare, and economic programs more than recreational programs. But this emphasis is not unexpected in a rural setting. All official American programs, being governmental, work through the Greek ministries and agencies. Next, in drawing up a comprehensive list, one could chronicle the quasi-governmental programs such as those embodied in the King's Fund and the Queen's Fund, the Volunteer Nursing Corps, and similar bodies. In addition to these, there are numerous groups started and managed by public-spirited Greek citizens interested in rural improvement. These range from agricultural education to reforestation to preservation of the folk arts. To those already found could be added the programs of a variety of international agencies, such as UNICEF, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the World Health Organization, UNESCO, and the Secretariat of the United Nations, as well as the very active International Red Cross. Finally, one could include a large assortment of private efforts sponsored by organizations from several European countries as well as Canada and the United States. Such organizations might be religious in nature, strictly welfare, or a combination of both.

No wonder, then, that the Greek villager becomes confused about who promises what and fails to deliver, or whom to thank for a bundle of clothes received in the mail. No wonder that he sometimes is nonplussed about what government official to wait upon. If he is a community president, he will probably visit his nomarch, but the chances are that the nomarch is not altogether versed in the number of programs intent upon effecting change in the villages under his supervision.

178 More than ever before, the Greek villager's way of life has become a target of change. In this sense, he typifies efforts being made in other countries and on other continents to move people from an archaic to a modern style of life, and to help them realize expectations and hopes of which they are only now becoming aware.

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XVII

Social Consequences of Foreign Aid

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This excursion through the Greek countryside should have shown that all change, whether in the guise of foreign aid or not, has definite social consequences. Social relationships as well as economic sectors are affected. Nor are these social consequences simply political in character; they go much deeper into the social structure. This should not seem mysterious, although it is often overlooked, for any program of economic development or political reconstruction has to work through people, through their social organization as it exists or as it is being fashioned anew. Despite this truism, and the fact that the economic and political aspects of foreign aid have been dramatically debated and ably analyzed by competent scholars, the social consequences are still *terra incognita* to many American specialists abroad. Furthermore, foreign aid, by its very nature, is designed not to maintain the status quo but to promote social change.

Foreign Aid Means Social Change

For anyone who is thinking through a philosophy of social change, the Greek experience is significant. It was a battleground between Western and Communist ideology and between conflicting loyalties. Here, through the Truman Doctrine, the United States intervened to influence the outcome, and succeeded. But the military defeat of the Communist-led guerrilla forces

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

● 177 648 was not enough: American dollars and American specialists came into the country — one might almost say they inundated the country — to improve health programs, statistical services, transportation routes, agriculture, homemaking, educational facilities, social welfare, foreign trade, and industry. Some idea of the extent of the financial cost is gained from a simple calculation: if Greece had received one million dollars a year since the time of Alexander the Great, the amount received would not quite equal the approximately two and one-half billion dollars received since World War II. Greece is often cited as the prize exhibit of the United States in the cold-war struggle. While such a presentation often overlooks the great contribution that the Greek people themselves made to their own recovery, as well as the help received from Britain and numerous international agencies and organizations, Americans were indubitably the chief agents of change in the sense of providing specialized knowledge about many facets of life. From Greece, many of these same specialists went on to Taiwan, Viet Nam, and other underdeveloped, or formerly colonial, areas where American technical assistance was in demand.

000 This is not surprising, nor was it entirely a matter of choice. The United States and other Western societies are forced into being agents of change by at least two major features of our way of life: one is our dynamic Western economy, which can no more operate effectively within a political boundary than spilled water can be contained by lines drawn on a table; the other feature is the explosive quality of the political and social ideas which we have inherited from our founding fathers and which we have implemented sufficiently to show the great promise which their further realization would bring. Around the world, words such as democracy, equality, freedom, brotherhood, progress are magic symbols to peoples awaking from centuries of life in a traditional mold and now part of the great "revolution of rising expectations." Our businessmen, financiers, and industrialists are developing world-wide economic perspectives, not because they necessarily want to but because they have to. They also know that in their foreign operations whatever location they choose, what they manufacture or extract from the earth, how they organize the activity, training, and benefits they give their workers, how much they contribute in taxes to local governments — all of these considerations and many more make them agents of change and, in that sense, constitute interference.

As for the revolutionary ideas now spreading to many shores, we can identify many of them as American or Western and should be deeply concerned with the interpretations that they receive. These interpretations go back to a foreign society's immediate experience with our armed forces abroad, the older teachings and examples of Western missionaries, the educational and cultural exchanges which expose future leaders of other countries, often while immature, to the good and bad points of our way of life.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Abroad, our movies, international radio transmissions, and printed material also contribute to the interpretation given to democracy, our economic system, and our social institutions. These facts alone indicate the deep involvement of the United States in the problem of change; but the urgency for a careful reconsideration and a more effective discharge of this involvement is driven home hard by the alternatives for change which the Soviet bloc offers to the new countries grappling with the problems of becoming part of the modern world.

In the face of this challenge, we of the Western world are coming more and more to recognize that the task of our generation is to serve as agents of international social change. Even though as individuals we stay at home, we still play some part in initiating change in many parts of the world through our government and the many private organizations which we support. For Americans this is inevitable, whether or not we like it. It is hard to see that we are all responsible for great changes in Asia or Africa; yet this is grim reality. In a sense, this is what people from many countries mean when they say that the United States must assume more actively its role of world leadership, for they are suggesting that this nation fit itself and assert itself more fully to guide and, at times, even set in motion social, economic, and political change among many peoples. Those urging this position, if one listens carefully, usually qualify their comments by pointing out that there are "right and wrong" ways of exercising this leadership, mistakes to be avoided, and a strong possibility that such a channeling of energies will not necessarily help the United States win a popularity contest, though it may greatly increase respect for this country.

Such a call to leadership is sufficient to make many Americans recoil in horror at the thought of playing the role of some global master-minder, Santa Claus, or do-gooder. And as they pull back, they drop the rational approach with which they face certain aspects of their lives and fall into a much more comfortable emotionalism absolving them from some of the disagreeable consequences of facing facts in today's world. They, as well as the rest of us, need to think through some philosophy of change compatible with democratic ideals and more in keeping with a world moving fast toward the twenty-first century. One of the first requirements is to accept change, rapid and dislocating as it often is, as one of the paramount traits of our times.

The Greek village, chiefly on the receiving end of change, can provide us some clues as to what happens when comparatively isolated villages begin to swing in the orbit of a town or city, or when archaic agricultural practices give way to modern farming. Statistics can tell about the increases in production, but one will have to rely on general observations to discern what such changes bring to social life. We are responsible as American citizens for helping bring about this social redesign in Greek life. What have

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we done, and what are we doing in other countries? Our society is so urbanized that we have to make a real effort, use all possible clues, to understand that what we are doing abroad is to move great masses of rural people toward the type of urban life which they know little about.[1] Three considerations shed light on this general problem: how a peasant is changed into a farmer; what happens when a villager moves to the city or accepts city ways in the village; and how a subject is changed into a citizen. These considerations do not add up to a full picture of rural change, but they provide useful guides for further thought. They also demonstrate that most foreign-aid programs are inevitably agencies for social change.

From Peasant to Farmer

In order to feed the people of the cities and to raise the living standards in the villages, the leaders of developing countries are sponsoring programs of agricultural improvement in a variety of forms. The basic purpose of these programs, when viewed in human terms, is to change the peasant into a farmer. In Greece today one finds very conservative peasants as well as those who have become farmers in the most modern meaning of the term, although most rural Greeks fall somewhere in between these extremes. To understand the effects of social change we might examine, one at a time, some of the more prominent traits of the peasant way of life and contrast these with the traits found among farmers in the more industrialized societies.[2]

Perhaps the most striking difference between the two types of farming is the peasant's self-subsistence as contrasted with the farmer's production for a market. In the traditional, relatively isolated peasant village, there are only a few wants which cannot be supplied locally. Because people expect little in the way of material goods, they get along with what they have, buying or bartering a few necessities (nails, salt, kerosene) from outside. The family head, however, thinks in terms of producing enough to feed his family, provide seed for harvest, and have sufficient surplus to sell for cash with which to pay taxes and buy the necessities. His choice of crops and the amount of land devoted to them are determined by family needs, not usually calculated in rational terms but by following customary practices which have seen the family through from one year to the next.

On the other hand, the modern farmer produces for the market. He may even grow very little of his food, preferring to put his energies into growing crops which can be sold at good prices. The income is used to buy a much larger volume of purchases than the peasant would ever dream of. The peasant may be price-conscious at the time he is ready to sell his few bushels of wheat or quintals of rice, but the modern farmer tries to anticipate the price as he plans the next year's production.

It follows from this that the peasant has less need for money than the

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of authority — the boss. With some of the younger migrants, the boss may become a father-surrogate; for others, he may represent a challenge to their independence. 369

Furthermore, a job-focused life means a regimented routine, particularly if fellow workers in an assembly line are dependent upon one's own performance. In such cases, others make decisions which one has to carry out. Along with this, a time consciousness, not necessarily present in the village, has to develop, particularly if factory managers are Western-trained. To live by the clock instead of by the sun calls for a major psychological orientation for many villagers.

Also inherent in this arrangement is the fact that the individual and not the family becomes the economic unit. To be sure, different family members may bring their earnings to a common family purse, but they each must go out to tasks over which the family as a group has no control. And as the individual becomes economically more prominent in his environment, he finds his security increasingly in the skills which he possesses. Industrialization and urbanization, therefore, work out part of their changes simply because jobs loom large and life becomes focused on them.

The villager while changing into an urbanite may need welfare and housing programs, largely governmental in origin. He may try to maintain connections with others in the city who have come from his same area; he may have relatives nearby upon whom he can depend in times of emergency; he may never completely cut off his ties with his home village; but he quite often stands in need of unemployment compensation, his wife may need maternity care in a government-run maternity home, and his children may need shots to protect them from diseases. A foreign-aid program which finances factories but gives little consideration to the welfare needs of the people moving into these factories is overlooking an important social dimension. The developing countries also need help in learning effective welfare and health practices as well as in mastering machine technology at the management level.

For the transplanted villager mass organizations may possess some attraction. He may be persuaded to join a labor union without fully realizing what membership involves; he may be talked into participating in a political-action group with no knowledge of the ideology behind the action; or he may content himself simply with belonging to some regional association made up of people from his own native area. One can safely predict that most villagers will not actively seek out the mass organizations but that many of them will get caught up in them with no clear picture of their nature. Should they find the leaders of these groups voicing their own aspirations or resentments, then the new urbanites gain a sense of belonging in an otherwise alien world. Although not touched upon in preceding pages, the work of the labor specialists in the American Mission to Greece de- [177 467]

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369 [177] [467]

serves special commendation. They provided for the Greek labor leaders a type of training which not only made them more effective officials but which also instilled a sense of responsibility in many of them. A similar type of training was not held for the new managers of industries being created with funds furnished by the United States.

Finally, the newcomer to the city has to develop a self-discipline which was not necessary in a village where intimate social controls were so permeating. To hold a job, one must live by certain rules and routines; to keep out of trouble with the police or with neighbors in a workers' apartment house, one must respect the rights of others; to receive promotions, one must add to one's knowledge and skills or else win the favor of those in positions of superiority. It is in these connections that adult-education courses or people's universities (for the working class) serve a useful purpose, even though reaching only a fraction of the eligible population. To visit these classes and to watch daily laborers, some born in the city and others in the villages, strive for more education makes one aware of the changes being ushered in on every hand in these developing countries.

From Subject to Citizen

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Almost every developing country has within its recent memory the fact of liberation from some outside power. The more than four centuries of Turkish rule have left their imprint on Greek local government, as have the heroic episodes connected with the Greek war of independence. Other countries, more recently liberated, have even more vivid memories of what it means to be a subject whose political fate is decided at the seat of an empire far removed from the subject's homeland.

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One purpose of our foreign-aid program, at least as enunciated by some of the most authoritative American spokesmen, is to help establish democratic forms of government wherever people can be found who are receptive to this development. But democracy as we conceive it calls for an enlightened citizenry, conscious of the fact that much sovereignty resides in its hands and that regularly scheduled elections provide an opportunity to express its will. It also assumes that governmental leaders will be aware of and responsive to the rise and fall of public opinion about crucial issues.

It is appropriate to ask, therefore, what the necessary conditions are for the shift of an individual from the position of a subject to that of a citizen. Once this is understood, its connection with a foreign-aid program becomes apparent. Again, observations of the Greek scene help us to understand other areas.

The first condition which usually, though not invariably, comes about is the rise of nationalism and the identification of an individual with a larger political entity. Any study of village life will reveal the parochialism of many villagers, which in the developing countries means that they are not

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641 organizational behavior which will keep him from being merely manipulated and through which he can make many of his own wishes known. From a sociological standpoint, this lack of organizational skill is a crucial variable in the failure of democratic forms to emerge and maintain themselves. The subject who becomes a citizen can learn how to deal with political parties as he gains experience in other large-scale organizations, such as the cooperative movement, labor unions, and in some cases religious groups. One might draw the analogy that a true citizen of a political unit is much the same as the active member of a large organization. Neither is indifferent or uninformed, and each knows the organizational mechanics open to him to checkrein activities of which he does not approve.

A further condition required for the shift from a subject to a citizen is a growing tradition of efficient public administration. Many of our foreign-aid programs have dealt with the need for training local people in systems of taxation, public financing, more streamlined bureaucratic procedures. Connected with these changes in practices, there must be an accompanying shift in attitudes on the part of the officials toward the people they are paid to serve. If the representatives of the central government continue to treat villagers like subjects, the villagers will continue to act like subjects; if they are treated as citizens, with dignity and fairness, then the villagers can much more easily make the shift to true citizenship. Local officialdom is apt to present one of the greatest difficulties, and any foreign-aid program which fails to change traditional official attitudes is probably making only a small contribution toward political stability.

To draw up a complete list of the attributes of an ideal citizen would move far beyond the possibilities that can currently be realized in most developing countries. Enough of the conditions for the citizenship role have been mentioned to show the connection between foreign-aid programs and this kind of social change. It is only reasonable that one test of any program in which the United States has invested is to ask to what extent this program advances and encourages, and even makes possible, the shift from a subject to a citizen.

Social Dimensions of Aid

177 Anyone familiar with the Greece of the early 1950s (or with the Viet Nam or Laos of the early 1960s) knows what it is like to have hundreds of Americans, civilian technicians and military specialists, busily carrying out their official duties. These hundreds quickly grow into thousands as dependents arrive from the States, and the equivalent of an American suburb springs full blown with all of its attendant recreational facilities, transportation service, food-distribution system, and educational program. Such an occurrence is inevitable when Americans become involved in any program of foreign aid sponsored by our government; nor would we expect

1:Sanders Z-5,Y (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

it to be otherwise. We are committed to giving our technical knowledge, through the use of specialists, even ranking this in importance with providing capital funds; nevertheless, American specialists will not absent themselves for long from their families, for our pioneering heritage depended upon moving in family groups even before the days of the covered wagon; nor will any American specialist want to see what he considers the health or educational progress of his children jeopardized by insufficient provision. Furthermore, under some circumstances, wives and children can prove effective agents of social change along with the specialists.

But perhaps the most significant aspect of the whole problem of aid to Greece, or elsewhere, is not the fact of introducing change but, rather, the way in which it is introduced and carried out. At times, but certainly not always, careful planning can help cushion the shock of certain kinds of change. We know, for instance, that mechanization in agriculture will affect the labor supply and we can even predict what kinds of workers will be displaced. Making provisions for them early in the process can cut down much human wear and tear. Our foreign-aid programs, to the extent that they represent the genius of American traditions, should always keep sight of the human element in change; those administering these programs should continue to remind themselves and the local leaders that these changes are designed to help people and that people do not exist merely to carry out changes. Unless the sense of individual worth is reinforced by the aid programs, they will prove poor seed beds for the democratic types of government which many expect to grow to full bloom in the countries receiving aid. Foreign aid that is impersonal, merely materialistic and gauged in readily obtained statistics, can frequently play into the hands of calculating leaders whose interest lies in self-perpetuation in power rather than in promoting the general welfare of the people subject to them.

Heavy investments in programs of foreign aid call for comprehensive evaluation, such as that represented by the various studies commissioned from time to time by our own Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. The study of Greek village life, as well as evidence from many countries elsewhere, indicates that the evaluation of social consequences, especially for rural people, receives scant attention. This is due in part to the preoccupation with the pressing military and political considerations which have a direct, immediate bearing upon national safety; it is also due to the fact that specialists who make the evaluations do so in terms of their own specialties, which seldom include the sociological viewpoint. An even greater difficulty is presented by the methodological problems of evaluating intangibles for which no simple social yardsticks can be devised. This is no place to work through such methodological considerations, but one can assert that the social-science techniques are rapidly developing to the point that an increasing number of "intangibles" are being subjected to a kind of

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[P 324]

Epilogue

177 What of the Greek villager and his relation to the social changes that foreign aid introduces? There in his village lanes, on his way to the fields, he is the object of foreign aid. It is his way of farming, of caring for children, of thinking about his government, that foreign-aid programs invariably affect. New textile factories produce fabrics which he can buy more cheaply and may even provide employment for his son or daughter; new highways bring a bus to his village for the first time and help him get perishable goods to market; radio programs make his wife urge him to do something about getting running water in the home; and the agricultural-extension agent urges him to stop raising so many sheep and shift to dairy cattle. To the extent that we keep the villager in focus, to that extent we emphasize the human element in foreign aid, not in a maudlin, sentimental fashion, but in the concrete, hardheaded analysis of the relative effects of various alternative programs upon his way of life. The analysis should move, if the Greek villager has anything to teach, from the economic effects to the political and social effects. Do these expensive undertakings really lead toward the kinds of regimes ready to cooperate in a world order based on law? Much of that answer is found not merely in the diagnosis of political institutions themselves, but in the larger question of the degree to which social stability is brought about or undermined. Any widespread technological development, as we have seen in the case of the spread of tractors and combines in Greece, calls for social readjustment. When this occurs, social policies, carefully developed, can prevent large numbers of villagers from being cut adrift from their past or forced from their farms to search unsuccessfully for urban employment, with political alienation the net result. If their children have a chance to get educated and rise in the social scale, if one segment of the society is not seemingly fattening itself with aid funds at the expense of the rest, if locally acceptable services become established in the rural areas to assist villagers in achieving common goals — then the peasants will have hope for the future.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

To most of the Greek villagers, foreign aid was intervention, but welcomed intervention. It changed the face of the countryside and the ways of many villages in a short period of time. It brought social consequences, many unanticipated, with which the villagers are having to learn to live. How they evaluate and what they do about these social effects, whether in the village or at the national political level, is the real final test of the American program of aid to Greece.

Each age creates its own mythology and writes its own legends, even rewriting the legend of the Rainbow in the Rock. The version of the first half of the twentieth century would tell of the rise of modern man, fit for the times in which we live. His activity would be centered upon the Rock, for it is tangible, specific, and its secrets point to a mastery of nature. Things and knowledge of things have accumulated in keeping with man's belief that they lead to health, comfort, and happiness. If pure water, abundant crops, attractive schoolbooks, well-paying jobs, and adequate housing came into being, then mankind would come into his rightful heritage.

But contemporary man is being rudely awakened to the fact that the Rock is never sufficient without the Rainbow. Things, and programs for things, in themselves are sterile, neutral, cold, and hard. It is as people give them use, clothe them with meaning, and fit them into humane purposes that they contribute to man's happiness.

This story of rural Greece has shown that village people can be as durable as the Rock itself. It has shown, too, that programs of aid must take into account the invisible but omnipresent qualities of the Rainbow as well as the visible realities of the Rock.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 43 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Clothing

178 291 [511] 292 [427] Apart from the house, its outbuildings, and furnishings, the most important item which signifies a family's degree of modernity in Vasilika is clothing. The old traditional rural costume of the region has not been worn in Vasilika, on the estimate of the oldest residents of the village, since their childhood in the 1890's and early 1900's. Couples were married in the old costumes somewhat later than that, but brides and grooms have been wearing hired white wedding gowns and ordinary lounge suits, respectively, at their weddings for at least a generation. The traditional regional clothing, the short white ballet-like skirts for men and the long dresses with embroidered vests for women, are now worn only by the school children in the playlets they present on patriotic occasions.

291 [177] [369] [626] [292] [179] Men's outer clothing today follows the standard European style of dark lounge suit, shirt, socks, and low oxfords. The middle-aged and older farmers avoid wearing neckties even on special occasions, since these stand for urban professional occupations. Some of the younger farmers did wear neckties for Easter in 1956 and were strongly criticized for doing so. The young men of the village dress much as their elders do, except that they make an effort to keep up with changing urban styles in coat-sweaters and shirts. Only one man in the village wears a fedora hat, a sign of leisure in Vasilika. The rest of the men, when they wear any head covering at all, wear cloth peaked caps. Winter overcoats are also of standard European style. The same type of clothing is used by men for work in the fields. They merely save old clothes for the purpose and wear a sweater instead of a suit jacket. Older men wear long woolen underwear all through the year. The young men and boys do not—they work in shirt sleeves more frequently than the older men do. Except for overcoats and sweaters, men wear the same kind of clothing thoughout the year.

291 [184] [511] [302] [765] [554] There is a slightly greater variation in women's clothing patterns, based on age as well as on income. Women in their forties or older wear dark blue homespun skirts with long-sleeved blouses and woolen cloth shawls for warmth. They always wear long lisle stockings and cloth slippers. A brown kerchief, wound around so that it forms a kind of close-fitting cap or helmet, is rarely removed by these women—one even wore it in bed throughout a hospital stay. Under the brown kerchief their hair is left long and dressed in braids around the head. Over the brown kerchief, for work around the house or in the fields, these women put on an additional kerchief, usually white in color, which is loosely tied under the chin for most kinds of work. They pull the ends around to cover their mouths when they do heavy work in the fields. In Vasilika, the colors of the outer kerchief indicate only whether or not a woman is in mourning. Black kerchiefs (and black clothes in general) are a sign that a woman is in mourning for a close relative; dark-colored kerchiefs indicate that she is in mourning for a more distant relative. The village women also associate the outer kerchief with their status as rural women who work in the fields.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Many observers have assumed that the practice of drawing the kerchief in front of the face to cover the mouth has the same meaning as the Muslim practice of veiling their women. It may be that the style of draping the kerchiefs was taken up during the Turkish occupation, but in contemporary Vasilika it has none of the connotation of modesty, it rather signifies work—specifically labor in the fields. The women explain the use of the outer kerchief in entirely utilitarian terms. They say it keeps the dust out of their mouths.

Women and girls under forty have a different style of dress. In winter, on ordinary days both indoors and out, they wear cotton flannel, printed kimono-like garments with long sleeves. They wear lisle stockings and cloth slippers with the kimonos. The girls prefer bright colors, with red often the favorite. In summer, the younger women wear cotton or rayon summer dresses which are of generalized European style. The younger women never wear the helmet-like brown inner kerchief, though they wear the outer kerchief, in the fields. Their hair is cut short. The last of the younger generation of girls over sixteen still wearing braids in 1955 cut her hair in 1956 in time for Easter. The kimono, the short hair, the discarding of the inner kerchief, are all recognized as signs of progress in the village. Many of these younger women are eager to have permanent waves when a traveling beautician comes through the settlement.

The oldest women and the least prosperous among the younger women of the village dress on holidays as they do every other day—they own no dress clothes, as it were, but the unmarried girls of all income levels try to manage something new, including, if possible, a pair of nylon stockings. What it will be is kept a secret, and Easter outfits are often sewed late at night, or tried on in real seclusion, so that other families will not see what the girls will wear until the day itself.

Except for the winter kimonos, clothes are acquired only for holidays, and then, after a few months, become everyday clothes to wear when working around the house or in the fields. In consequence, wool dresses or rayon clothes lose their shapes; the seams split and tear, because these garments were not originally designed to withstand the strenuous work the women do in them. Both men's and women's clothes get badly soiled from the fields, and they are washed in hot water and often pounded with a paddle as well, to loosen all the dirt. The homespun fabrics of the older women withstand such treatment well, but the wools and rayons of the younger women and the men's suits rather quickly reach the condition of old rags, as the villagers call them, and thereby become suitable for work in the fields and around the house.

Children's clothing has become important for the villagers because the standard of what is expected has changed within the last two decades. One farmer and his wife explained their desire not to have more than the two children they already had by saying that, among other things, their children now had to have shoes all the time, a requirement which did not exist when they themselves were children. In the winter, some children wear rubbers over heavy stockings but without shoes. Boys wear short pants until late adolescence, but otherwise their clothes are like those of their elders. Girls wear dresses like those of the younger women. Kimonos, however, are not considered appropriate for

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

291 schoolgirls. Since the same clothing is usually worn indoors and out during the
511 winter, small boys and girls wear cotton pinafores over their outer coats in order
[286] to prevent too fast soiling. Some mothers knit sweaters for their children, but gloves are not worn for warmth either by children or by adults. Uncomfortably cold hands are expected throughout the winter, and during this season, as they enter a house, people frequently walk directly to the front of the fire and extend their hands towards the flame. Some of the young girls wear thin gloves, for show rather than for warmth, when they go to church. Children, like their parents, are now expected to have new clothes at Easter, and, if possible, for other holidays as well. They must be neatly dressed for school. A few of Vasilika's children wear torn, patched, faded clothing out of economic necessity.

Urbanity vs. Convenience

369 The urban acquisitions relieve some of the work load and add to the
511 variety of life, and the villagers frequently express satisfaction at having the
312 new conveniences and the new relief from boredom. But convenience seems to
406 be welcomed less for its own sake than as a by-product of goods and practices that are primarily valued for their air of urban sophistication, of "progress." For example, most of the wells in the village have no windlasses to ease the labor of bringing up the pails full of water. Women simply keep a rope attached to a pail, lower the pail into the well, and use the rope to lift it out again, hand over hand. The water level in many of the wells is low, so that drawing a pail of water is hard physical labor which must be done at least twice a day, but the women did not agitate for windlasses in the way they did for cement basins, for obviously, windlasses have no urban cachet about them. They do want running water in the homes—an urbanism—and it will, incidentally, relieve them of the drudgery of drawing so much well-water, but for a generation, the presence of a few windlasses in the village did not inspire other families to acquire them.

369 The overt recognition on the part of the villagers that they admire and
354 accept the new items because they stand for progress and sophistication and not
511 entirely for whatever utility they may have is exemplified by the comment of one of Vasilika's less prosperous inhabitants whose living conditions were among the least favorable in the village. His house did, in 1959, have electricity, however, and he had one naked bulb hanging in the center of his one small upstairs room. This man described for us his feelings about a recent visit he had made to the *paniyiri* of a mountain village which had no electricity. "I couldn't stay there
[529] more than a day," he said. "They had no electric light, and I cannot live like
[177] that any more. I have become a European," he concluded, with a smile, using the term that Greeks use for the inhabitants of Europe west of the Adriatic.

369 A second reason for the acceptance of new uses for cash is simply the rivalry
511 among Vasilika's families. If one family with urban connections has something new, other families make an effort to get the same thing. One of the effects of
556 the process is that some families whose incomes barely enable them to subsist

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)/63 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

planting that season accepted the fact with resignation. The agitation died down after several days and the matter was not mentioned again.

Let us return now to the other officials and organizations that have responsibilities concerning the village as a whole. Law enforcement in Vasilika is in the hands of two *aghrofilakes* (rural policemen). They are appointed by the nomarch and are responsible for preventing and detecting animal trespass in the fields and thefts of produce as well as of personal property. They also watch sales of cotton and tobacco and can therefore furnish information of value for estimating produce taxes. The village police are sometimes called in to deal with disorderly conduct or with any physical violence which threatens to become serious. The *aghrofilakes* wear grey uniforms with green trim and are easily distinguished from the other villagers. Vasilika's police used to be *kseni* (strangers) who came from two different neighboring villages, but in 1961 the men were natives of the village who were relatives of the then current president.

There are two other semigovernmental village-wide organizations: the agricultural cooperative credit society, and the welfare committee. The villagers elect a president of the credit society, whose signature is necessary on almost all requests for credit, since the Agricultural Bank works in conjunction with the cooperative. The village priest, the president of the council, and the president of the agricultural credit society constitute the welfare committee. They attest to the financial need of a villager who wishes to avail himself of free government welfare services. In most cases, however, the village families who occasionally need help receive irregular gifts of food and clothing from other village families, and their plight is not considered a matter for joint village action. When several cartons of surplus American butter, cheese, and powdered milk reached the village, it was the priest who distributed the goods. On that occasion, the daughter of one of the recipients brought some butter (which the villagers usually do not use in cooking or baking) to a neighbor's daughter, who contributed eggs, flour, and sugar. The two girls spent a busy afternoon mixing a cake according to a half-remembered recipe given them by an extension worker some years before. The cake was not a success by any standards for such confections, but the girls were satisfied because they had produced a European-style sweet.

The Village School

The village school is supervised and controlled by the Ministry of Education in Athens. The teacher is appointed by the ministry, which also prescribes the curriculum. In Vasilika, in 1955–1956, the school had thirty pupils distributed unevenly among the six grades. The first grade had the largest number of children because its ranks were augmented by the children of the shepherds, some of whom had had no previous schooling and were assigned to the first grade regardless of age. A man originally from the Peloponnesus taught the children. He had married a woman from Parori, who was herself one of the

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

with a float competition on this day. In 1956, the winning float was a huge replica of the Trojan horse.

The events of Holy Week, with their culmination in the feasting and dancing on Easter Sunday, are from the villagers' point of view the most important time of the year. They anticipate *to Paskha* all the rest of the year; the women in particular asked about how Americans celebrated Easter more frequently than they asked about any other American custom, and whenever any general discussion of different customs came up, the women would spontaneously start describing Holy Week. Not the least of the reasons for the anticipation of Easter is that it is a spring festival and the villagers wait impatiently for spring. They look forward to the warmth of the sun after the cold and rainy winter, and they speak with affection of the beauty of the wild flowers which cover the hillsides in early spring.

During Holy Week in 1956, Maundy Thursday services began at 8:40 in the evening. Men and boys, as well as some women who rarely attended Sunday mass, appeared for the service, and on Good Friday and Easter Sunday virtually the entire village population, except for tiny infants and those who had to care for them, was present. By Thursday evening, relatives of the villagers from the surrounding villages and towns and from Athens had begun to arrive and to appear at the church. Just as on ordinary Sundays, the church filled gradually as the service progressed. Older men stood at the stalls up front, and several elderly women and pregnant women sat on chairs which were brought in for them and were placed in the back of the church in the woman's section. Women visitors were offered chairs; some accepted, some did not. Two of the village women got tired at one point and squatted on the floor, but as usual, the children, the younger men, and almost all the girls and women stood throughout. The service lasted until 11:00. In the course of it, there was considerable restlessness and low-voiced conversation among the men and giggling among the girls. But at the culmination of the service, when the image of Jesus on the Cross was brought from behind the screened altar and placed in the center of the church, there was complete quiet.

Many of the villagers can recite or chant the portions of the New Testament which are read as part of the Holy Week services, and do so under their breath—really only to themselves, since the priest and the chanters sing the chants aloud. Even among these villagers, however, very few have a literal understanding of the text, for it is in New Testament Greek, which is a generalized form of Eastern Mediterranean Greek developed in the last centuries of the pagan and early centuries of the Christian era. It is therefore about as different from the contemporary demotic Greek spoken in the village as Chaucerian English is from Modern English. Nevertheless, all the villagers know the main outlines of the New Testament depicting the crucifixion, death, and resurrection of Christ, and know which portions are being sung and symbolically re-enacted at each of the Holy Week services.

The villagers say that on Good Friday no one should work either in the fields or in the house, but these prohibitions were not strictly adhered to. In the

4:Andromedas E-5 (no date) 1957 EH1 Greece EH1

193 551 indicating the members and partisans of a family or clan; e.g., Tsavaléi, Andromidhéi, Kolokotronéi, Petimezéi (Cf. Pernot, vol. I, p. 86).

177 601 Of the Modern Greek kinship terms listed above, most existed with the same or much the same meaning in Ancient Greek. However, the latter had a much richer and more varied vocabulary in the totality of its literature, and the reduction has been considerable. It included many non-Indo-European loan words of which *theîos* and *anepsiós*, among others, survive today. The modern loan words are kunyádhos, bárbas, yáya, and batzanákis, from Romance, Turkish, etc. The bulk of borrowings and replacements of common Indo-European kin terms had occurred already in ancient times. For instance, *adelphós*, *-é* (modern *adherfós*), literally "co-uterine" (from *delphýs*, womb, a word of uncertain origin), became the sibling terms in place of **phrâter* and [113] **eór* which dropped out before Homer. The full roster of classic and Homeric kin terms can be found in Miller's "Greek Kinship Terminology."

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5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

training of men for work in the provinces. The new movement has taken up and extended almost every type of evangelistic work developed by the voluntary associations. Its activity in the field of publishing has been particularly notable, and has been greatly extended by the setting up of a modern printing press at Moni Petraki in December, 1951. The official journal of the Church of Greece as well as new periodicals for the parish clergy and for the family are printed on this press.

Amongst the projects which the Apostoliki Diakonia hopes to carry out within the next few years is the creation of a 'spiritual centre' just outside Athens, which will include a training college for deaconesses, a hostel for girls studying in the theological faculty of the university, and a model high school, all grouped about a church. Other model schools are to be set up in Tenos and Patras. Like the voluntary movements, the official Apostolic Diaconate supports preachers working in the country dioceses and organises catechetical schools. It seems probable that many of the smaller voluntary movements that flourish in the provinces will before long be absorbed by the official Home Mission with its centralised organisation and unrivalled material resources.

In the case of the more important voluntary associations, however, the position is rather different. The Zoë Brotherhood, above all, now has a highly developed organisation peculiar to itself, and while the movement's ultimate aims are in no sense incompatible with those of the official Home Mission, it has acquired a very marked spirit and tradition of its own. Though the days when members of the brotherhood could be tried for false teaching and *kakodoxia* are long since past, and its preachers and confessors stand high in the estimation of the ordinary people, Zoë still has many bitter opponents. The brotherhood is still young and it would be surprising had it escaped altogether from the growing pains of youth. Not all of its members have been endowed with the surpassing gentleness and mature discretion of its founder; in denouncing the evils of the times they have sometimes shown a spirit that recalls Apostolos Makrákes rather than Father Eusebius.

The voluntary movements have, it must be confessed, borrowed somewhat unwarily from the west. Their influence in the field of eikonography, for example, has been deplorable: the wonderful traditions of the Greek Church have been utterly abandoned in favour of feeble imitations of the effete and secularised religious art of Latin Christendom. Here, at least, the Apostoliki Diakonia has set a most

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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courageous example and one can only hope that the work of Photis Kontoglou, somewhat mannered though it is, may mark the beginnings of return to a tradition that had not wholly perished in the remoter provinces of Greece when the dominion of the Turk was overthrown.

When all is said, however, the fact remains that the Zoë Brotherhood has, under God, been the most potent factor in the spiritual awakening of the Greek people during the last two generations, and the traveller who would form a just estimate of the present situation will, if he is wise, take the trouble to gain a first-hand acquaintance with the labours of this remarkable movement and to enter into its spirit before he pays heed to the strictures of its critics.

One can readily understand the desire of the ecclesiastical authorities to systematise and co-ordinate the evangelistic activity of the voluntary associations: even in reforming circles to-day one is frequently reminded of the saying 'every Greek a *kapetanios*!' It is, however, no less important to remember that the marvellous work of these unofficial bodies has sprung from the consecrated life and example of a handful of men who had given themselves wholly to God that His power might be manifested in them, and it may well be that the new Home Mission will have to learn by bitter experience the lesson that 'the victory of the width' is given only to those who have fought 'the battle of the depth' and have prevailed: the regeneration of the Greek people in Christ will not be brought about through legislation and centralised planning alone.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

other the celibate clergy from whose ranks the chief ministers of the Church are normally chosen. In the training of the former book-learning plays but little part. The seminaries aim at providing no more than an elementary grounding in pastoralia for a race of craftsmen and peasant-farmers who, with few exceptions, are more at home with a plough than a pen, and are wholly unequipped for academic pursuits. The higher clergy, however, are almost invariably graduates, well versed in the disputations of the schools.

While the married clergy receive their training in the seminaries, the potential bishop is fashioned in the theological schools of the universities of Athens and Salonica. The theological faculty of the northern university was established only a few years ago. In former days many of the higher Greek clergy went to the theological academy at Halki, near Constantinople: a celebrated institution which, in the days of its prosperity, attracted students from every part of the Orthodox world. After the first world war, however, this sank to the level of a provincial seminary, and it is only in recent years (under the guiding hand of a new Oecumenical Patriarch) that it has regained something of its old prestige. Thus, the great majority of the present Greek bishops and archimandrites are graduates of the University of Athens.

In considering the place occupied by the theological schools of the universities within the framework of training for the ministry, it must not be forgotten that the clergy account for only a small proportion of the students of these faculties, far the greater number of whom are lay men and women (there are quite a few girls amongst the theological students of Athens and Salonica, and their number is steadily increasing). In the universities, moreover, as in the seminaries and the ecclesiastical schools, the majority of the teaching staff are laymen. The only cleric among the Athens professors—the Archimandrite B. Stephanides (whose *Ecclesiastical History* seems likely to be a standard work for every Greek student for many years to come)—retired in 1950 and was succeeded by a layman; while at Salonica likewise, only the professor of ecclesiastical history—an archimandrite who was formerly in charge of the Greek church in Paris—is in orders. Although the lay theologian has a long and distinguished ancestry in eastern Christendom and is often a man of deep spirituality, it can nevertheless be a trifle startling to hear a layman lecturing, to an audience which includes experienced priests and *pneumatikoi*, on the mystery of confession.

The university course normally lasts four years. The theology of the

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

schools is characterised for the most part by a somewhat arid academicism. During the nineteenth century a theologian who went abroad for post-graduate studies went almost as a matter of course to Germany; and, although this is no longer so, the shadow of Harnack still lies across the threshold of the theological school at Athens. "Berlin, Leipzig, Jena, Halle, etc.", wrote Dr. Adrian Fortescue in 1907, "are full of Greek students, who with the versatility of their race, very soon learn to talk German perfectly, and to think and argue about theological questions like German higher critics!"

Greek academic theology, though distinguished by great technical competence and erudition, and considerable familiarity with the critical work which one associates with the German schools of the latter part of last century, is largely deficient in those qualities which have made the work of certain Russian theologians of the diaspora of such absorbing interest for the western Christian. The Greek theologian, while he has benefited incalculably by his scientific training in the schools of Germany, has scarcely as yet been forced back upon his own proper tradition by the pressure of an alien environment. With few exceptions, moreover, he is curiously out of touch with recent tendencies in western theological thinking: often he seems to be a generation behind the times, unaware that critical theories no longer hold the field in the schools of Paris and Oxford—not to mention Geneva.

How long this state of affairs will last it is difficult to say. The present isolation is not hard to understand if one takes into account the effect of the war years and the lack of contact—even on the intellectual level—between the Greek professors and those Roman Catholic scholars whose work has been so important for the west during the past decade, and whose exchanges with certain Russian theologians have proved so mutually rewarding. It may well be that the links now being forged between Athens and Paris—and in particular with the Russian Academy of St. Sergius—are of crucial importance for the future. At present, it must be confessed, the transition from the theological climate of Orthodox Paris to that of the Athenian schools is apt to be somewhat disappointing to the Frankish *theologos* to whom a first glimpse of the wholeness of Orthodoxy has come as the revelation of a long-forgotten realm. The theology of the schools seems to be earthbound and wholly academic: a theology of the manuals which bears little relation to holy living.

The theoretical character of much contemporary Greek theology has

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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had regrettable consequences for the development of the new movements, with which the theological schools have, in general, little vital connexion—although more than one professor of the theological faculty at Athens has played an important rôle in their work and organisation. In many quarters—and especially, perhaps, within Zoë circles—a sense of the apparent irrelevance of this theoretical science to practical piety has given rise to an impatience with all theological questions. We must, it is said, be *practical*—and this theology of the schools is not practical; it is a theoretical science wholly unrelated to the urgent problems which are the daily concern of the preacher and the confessor. Such an attitude cannot but strike one as curiously out of place in an Orthodox *milieu* and is not without its dangers.

A few of the clergy go abroad to continue their studies after graduating from the Greek theological schools. Many a young layman is sent to western Europe or America for post-graduate study in the hope that upon his return to Greece he will offer himself for ordination; but a first acquaintance with ecclesiastical conditions very different from those to which he has been accustomed (particularly in the matter of the status of the married clergy and their field of activity) can easily have an unsettling effect upon the potential *despotes*, and it is not unknown for a young graduate, not conscious of a very definite call to the celibate life, to waver in his first resolve of becoming a priest, after two or three years in England or America.

Apart from the minority who go abroad after leaving the university, the celibate clergy normally pass immediately to an episcopal household without further study. Until quite recently there was nothing in Greece comparable to the English theological college. Since the war, however, there has been opened in Athens an establishment which approximates in some measure to the English institution. This is the 'School for Preachers' which is housed in the hostel of the Apostoliki Diakonia: a fine modern building occupying two sides of the quadrangle at Moni Petraki and overlooking the garden of the British School of Archaeology. Though completed some years ago, it was long requisitioned as a military hospital, and it was not until the early part of 1950 that the whole building was made available to the Church.

The School for Preachers provides a two-year course of study (primarily of a pastoral character) for men who have already graduated from the theological school of the university. In 1950 a considerable

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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793 874 794 number of the students were experienced preachers and confessors from the provinces, but in the years to come they will normally consist in the main of young graduates of the theological school. The primary aim of this school is to equip priests (and lay theologians) for work in the dioceses, and it promises to be of the greatest service to the Church of Greece.

The same building serves as a hostel for theological students who live at some distance from Athens and who would otherwise be dispersed in lodgings (though some find a home in one of the hostels of the Zoë Brotherhood). All the inhabitants—theological students as well as those belonging to the School for Preachers—share a common life, with morning and evening prayers, and meals taken together in the refectory on the coenobitic pattern. Now that the theological faculty of the university is attracting students from Ethiopia and America, as well as from the autocephalous Church of Cyprus, and the Apostoliki Diakonia is offering generous hospitality to occasional Frankish visitors and a student or two from the Russian Academy in Paris, this community is fast acquiring an oecumenical character such as belonged to Halki in the day of its fame.

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The theological faculty at Salonica, as I mentioned earlier, is of recent foundation. Despite the difficulties of the times, however, it is now in full vigour and holds out very great promise to the sorely-tried and understaffed dioceses of northern Greece. It is greatly to be hoped that it will prove possible before long to set up at Salonica an institution similar to that now flourishing in Athens, and combining the functions of a post-graduate theological college and a hostel for theological students from the outlying provinces. Many of these students at present have some difficulty in maintaining themselves for the period of their studies, and comparatively few can be accommodated in the new hostel of the Zoë Brotherhood or in the little hostel maintained for several years in the face of tremendous material difficulties by the Apostoliki Diakonia of Salonica.

At present there is an acute shortage of educated clergy in these the more remote provinces of Greece. Few dioceses have more than one priest-theologian and in some *eparchiai* the metropolitan is single-handed. In such circumstances preaching and the mystery of penance are inevitably much neglected. Not a few amongst the bishops of these northern dioceses are advocates of some kind of 'direction' of the educated clergy which would counteract the prevailing current which

793 369 [783]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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CHAPTER 1

THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

Like other countries struggling under the impact of western technology and ideas, contemporary Greece is a land of sharp contrasts. Donkeys with loaded panniers on their backs still jog down the broad avenues of modern Athens oblivious to the stream of automobiles passing them by; and the donkeys' owners daily hawk their wares, with piercing and immemorial cries, to people living in ultra-modern apartment buildings, as well as to others who inhabit the merest hovels, clustered along nar-

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6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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177 184 369 [243] row alleys behind the handsome main streets of the city. Similarly, in the countryside it is still possible to see groups of peasants toiling stoopbacked and patient as they harvest their grain with sickles, handful by handful, while, perhaps in the next field, an American combine may be observed noisily at work.

The combines and the glistening apartment buildings of Athens are very new; the donkeys and the sickles are older than recorded history. In a very real sense, the central problem of contemporary Greek life is how to close this gap, and bring the old and the new into a smooth and mutually beneficial interrelationship. Much progress has been made in this direction during the past ten years, but stubborn difficulties remain. It will require at least another generation before these difficulties can be overcome, even if peace and prosperity prevail throughout the coming years.

433 161 648 Peace and prosperity have seldom visited the Greeks for long, least of all during the twentieth century. Greece was almost continuously at war from 1912 to 1923 and again from 1940 to 1949; and the intervals of peace between these times of crisis were seldom secure. The wealth of the country suffered very severely from both periods of war, but in spite of economic dislocation and widespread destruction of property, the population increased fairly rapidly, from just over 5 million in 1920 (when Greece first attained approximately her present boundaries) to just about 8 million in 1956. Part of this growth was due to natural increase, but about one and a quarter million new inhabitants came to the country between 1922 and 1927, as a result of forcible exchanges of population with Turkey and Bulgaria after the first world war.

563 The effect of these exchanges was to make almost all of the population Greek in speech and sentiment, although two significant minority groups remained: a Slavic "Macedonian" population in the northwest where the borders of Greece, Yugo-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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riod, however, important changes have taken place. In particular, a group of comparatively youthful economists and statisticians have risen to key posts in many of the ministries, and are able to advise their superiors in the light of a type of professional training and in accordance with intellectual concepts which ten years ago were noticeably absent from the policy-making levels of the Greek civil service. Even if the execution of official policy is not always effective, ideas of what government ought to do and can do and how to go about doing it have undergone radical change.

Politicians and civil servants of the immediate postwar period in Greece grew up in a time when society and the economy were expected to run themselves, subject only to sporadic official interference. The painful inadequacy of this outlook became apparent in 1947, when the emergency relief and reconstruction undertaken by UNRRA began to taper off before the economy had been restored to running order. In this situation, the Greek government lacked ideas as much as the means with which to try to cope with the problems confronting the country. All too clearly, automatic restoration to something like the prewar social and economic pattern was out of the question. Planning and massive organization of effort by government agencies were still needed if serious collapse was to be avoided.

The American aid mission, to be sure, stepped into the gap created by the withdrawal of the British and of UNRRA, and attempted far more energetically than its predecessors to educate Greek administrative personnel to new ways of thinking. Even before 1947, foreigners – mostly American and British – had insisted on making plans for the development of the Greek economy, and a small number of Greeks had been drawn into the attempt. Yet by and large, it was the foreigners who made plans, and the Greeks were consulted afterward. This remained more or less the case until 1950 or 1951; but in propor-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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647 tion as the Americans reduced the scale of their economic aid
177 after 1952 and withdrew from detailed supervision of the minis-
433 tries, the task of making plans was transferred to Greek hands.
178 Some senior Greek civil servants, veterans from 1945 and 1946, welcomed the new scope and authority thus entrusted to them; but in the main the men who inherited the new role were not the same persons who ten or even five years before had occupied leading positions in the Greek civil service. Between 1947 and 1952, when American advisers were introduced into nearly all Greek ministries, these impatient foreigners were able to play a major part in determining promotions and key personnel assignments within the ministries. Many a young American economist found himself at first dealing with men much older than himself, men whose ideas often had little relation to those he had imbibed during graduate training in some American university. This regularly led to serious friction, for senior Greek officials were not much inclined to go to school to cocksure youths scarcely more than half their own age. But bright young men could be found in the lower ranks of the civil service who either already shared the concepts of their American counterparts or quickly acquired some familiarity with them. Many such men were sent to the United States for additional technical training, or visited Washington to observe American administrative methods at first hand.

These persons naturally seemed to the Americans to be just the type to run things; and the voice of an American adviser was sufficiently powerful to secure rapid advancement for men he favored. In this fashion a new generation of officials came rapidly to the fore within the Greek ministries, while many of their former superiors were shunted off to unimportant posts or else retired.

647 By 1956, therefore, the economic ministries of the Greek civil
433 service were sprinkled with men of a quite new type, some-
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6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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647 662 in the office concerned, in order to open a door for prompt and courteous service by means of private communication. As a result, a comparatively small number of persons whose social position or family connections gave them an inside track enjoyed a great advantage in dealings with officialdom, while the poor and friendless could hardly regard the government machine as anything but an obstacle between themselves and their legal rights.

647 661 The idea that officials should be public servants rather than public masters has never been firmly rooted in modern Greece. Byzantine and Turkish tradition, transformed according to Bavarian and then German models, shaped the civil service; and the fact that educated persons regard themselves as elevated far above their ignorant fellows has reinforced and perpetuated the old dichotomy between official and subject.

647 661 662 It must be said that the fault has not lain entirely with the civil servants. The ordinary private citizen in Greece is prone to look upon the government as his natural enemy – a group of men who are out to tax him and interfere with what he wants to do. It follows that almost any device to foil the agents of the government is considered legitimate – deceit, lying, bribery or just the exertion of "influence." Indeed, almost all Greeks entertain a kind of admiration for a man who is clever or bold or lucky enough to get around the law and the bureaucracy. Sense of duty to public authorities and laws has never been very strong in the country. More than most nations, the Greeks remain anarchists and individualists at heart; and rather high-handed methods, together with rigid punctiliousness in matters of red tape, is a natural and perhaps almost inevitable official response to such public attitudes.

647 663 ●177 654 A few segments of the bureaucracy, however, were making serious efforts to serve the public. The most conspicuous of these were the agricultural extension agents, whose contacts

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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with the farmers seemed to be genuinely friendly and highly effective in nearly all of the villages I visited. Here again, the American aid mission was entitled to a great deal of credit, for American advisers had made special efforts to reorganize the agricultural extension service on the model of the county agricultural agents in the United States. Many of the Greek agriculturalists had been sent to study in America before receiving their appointments. The public health agencies were another branch of the central administration in which a spirit of service had come to prevail; and there may have been others. In general, it was the older departments of the government, and particularly those concerned with money and taxes, in which the unpleasant but traditional attitudes were most firmly and universally established.

Another administrative change, and one which produced highly beneficial results in some localities at least, was the reinvigoration of local government. During the war and afterward, until 1951, local government officials were appointed through the Ministry of Interior. In 1951, however, local elections were organized, partly at least in response to repeated urging from Americans. As a result of these elections, village presidents and city mayors, together with advisory councils which assisted them in their administration, became more nearly independent of the central government, and commanded, presumably, more local confidence and support than was likely to be the case when the offices were filled by appointment from above.

The system did not always work smoothly – witness Cherasia; but my impression of the local officials whom I met in 1956 was on the whole a quite favorable one. Except in Cherasia, the village presidents seemed to have the full confidence of the villagers, and some of them were men of real intelligence and force of character. The president of Old Corinth would be

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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665 magnetism of his personality, was able to control his followers and keep them faithful to him. Eleftherios Venizelos was able to exert such leadership during parts of his career, though even he was not always successful. General Papagos achieved something similar during the first year or so when he held office, before his failing health raised the question of the succession and induced his followers to start jockeying for position.

645 662 When no single commanding figure was able to dominate the political scene – and this was normal – then political life became a complicated intrigue among ambitious individuals. Every cabinet spent a lot of energy smoothing over personal frictions within its own ranks, and attempting to block schemes, originating from the outside, to disrupt its following in the Chamber of Deputies. In many instances, these preoccupations [433] prevented the cabinet from paying more than casual attention [663] to the really important issues confronting Greece: questions of economic policy, in particular, were often neglected, and awkward decisions, bound to disappoint powerful individuals, were sometimes put off indefinitely.

665 666 645 [177] The introduction of the majority system of election in 1952 was conceived, both by its Greek advocates and by the United States Embassy, as a promising remedy for this situation. The effect of the new electoral law was to compel separate personal parties to form election coalitions, since without a coalition no party could hope for a majority if any two others joined forces. But the coalitions did not really destroy the personal parties. Instead, the leaders forming a coalition bargained together to decide how many personal supporters each would be allowed to insert in the coalition's slate of candidates. Questions of the apportionment of cabinet positions and other honorific appointments, to be awarded in the event of victory, were also explored if not always settled in advance. To be sure, Papagos resisted this process and made few promises to the politicians who

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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lems Greece confronted. Inflating the currency to pay current running expenses and to finance a modest program of government capital investment proved far more palatable politically, even though such a policy penalized the salaried and wage-earning classes, and led to recurrent crises as the price level outran their incomes.

Greece shares this problem with other underdeveloped nations in which population growth tends to equal or outstrip increases in productivity, while at the same time superficial contact with modern economic ideas has convinced leaders of public opinion that poverty is neither inevitable nor necessary, but can and should be relieved by government action. Under these circumstances, the processes of parliamentary government are most unlikely to turn up politicians who dare to contradict the immediate desire of the electorate for an improvement of living standards. Political irresponsibility toward fundamental economic problems, of a type so widespread in Greece, is a normal and all but inevitable result.

To 1956, at least, the discrepancy between the tenor of political debate and the planning of technicians in the economic ministries of the Greek government seems to have had only slight effect upon the practical realization of economic plans. In some cases, the fact that the minister was so often distracted by the exigencies of the political game may even have given civil servants a freer hand than they might otherwise have had. But if this was so, the major reason for it was the existence of the American aid mission, and the ultimate dependence of most economic advance upon grants from American authorities. That is to say, a senior civil servant, when confronted by his minister, could always point out that if his plans were not approved, then there might be a reckoning with the Americans, whose ideas about how the Greek government should try to shape the economy had much in common with the civil servant's approach, and little with that of the politicians.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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It could almost be said that the Americans, having failed to alter the political pattern of Greece by direct intervention in 1950 and 1951, succeeded in short-circuiting the political process by dealing directly with the rising group of civil servants whose general outlook and whose personal positions in the hierarchy of administration had been profoundly influenced by the aid mission itself. This provided, temporarily at least, a workable substitute for responsible self-government; but it was an essentially fragile structure, depending both on the continuance of American grants to Greece and upon the acquiescence of the politicians.

Signs were not wanting in 1956 that the acquiescence of the politicians could not always be depended upon. Neutralism as between the Soviet Union and the United States had a few public advocates, and several newspapers systematically played up incidents that reflected discredit upon American personnel. There were also repeated newspaper attacks upon the privileged status American officials enjoyed. In the fall of 1955 popular demonstrations of sympathy for the Cypriotes in Athens, Salonika and Patras took a rather violent anti-American turn, including the stoning of American official buildings. Wherever I went in 1956 the inevitable question was put: Why does the United States not live up to its principles and support Greek claims in Cyprus?

In this indirect fashion, the Cyprus question allowed public expression of restiveness against American influence in Greece to assume a politically respectable, i.e., non-Communist, form. Part, though by no means a major part, of the emotional energy behind the Cyprus agitation in Greece reflected resentment against the American leading strings which had controlled Greece so thoroughly for nearly ten years.

Because the Cyprus question offered release for many diverse frustrations and grievances, it attained extraordinary proportions. All other political issues were in almost total eclipse in

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of a masterbuilder (1). Haberlandt is then right when he states that the construction of Albanian towers was the work of travelling builder's guilds. The origin, however, of these builders must not be sought, as Haberlandt suggests, in the countries over the Adriatic and in Southern Italy; neither, as Nopcsa thinks, in Northern Italy and the Alpine regions, but in the Balkan peninsula itself, in an area which is very near to Albania as well, and whose inhabitants knew both the Albanian language and their customs well, so that they could freely enter that rough and inhospitable country. (2).

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It is true that in Greece towers are only found in Mani, because social conditions and especially the vendetta have made defensive measures against personal and family enemies necessary, exactly as in Chimara and Albania. Before the liberation of Thessaly, however, the system of the above fortified towers was widely prevalent there,

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1) Here below I am giving a translation of a recently published survey by Mrs. **A. Hadjimihali**: «La maison grecque». «Each of these builders' villages has specialised in some part of building. Certain villages supplied builders, others decorators, others painters, woodworkers, etc. All these builders were known under the general name of «μαστόροι», whatever their speciality was. The master- builders, each leading a group of builders, formed notable guilds known under the local name of «ιανάφι». In Yannena, the builders' guild counted about 450 members, belonging to various branches of building art.

Each master-builder was the head of a group of about 10-20 men. Groups, however, who undertook big construction projects, had sometimes up to 100 men: builders, marble sculpters, decorators, painters, carpenters, turners, woodcarvers, etc. These builder guilds were leaving their villages under the leadership of their masters towards the middle of February and went to the place where work had been found. Their departure was cause for feasts, and so was their return in December, or round Christmas to the latest. (A desctription of these fiests is given here). These guilds were thus travelling from Macedonia and Epirus, all over the Balkan peniusula as far as Bucharest, Constantinople and even Asia Minor. Buildings constructed by these groups are found in all these countries: Graceful bridges on bold arches, famous churches, monasteries, immense caravan serajs, houses of noblemen, public buildings, palaces, minarets, mosques, bell-towers, etc.» (L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Serie B, year 3, (1949) p. 250)

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See also note 2 on page 79. Builders of Epirus, who have constructed the beautiful noblehouses of Western Macedonia, seem to be fully aware of the value and perfection of their work. One of the most beautiful houses of Siatista, built in 1754, has the following inscription on a glass pane: «Should you ask, my lords, what builder built this house, Nacos is his name, and he comes from Konitsa». ('Ο Φάρος τῆς Βορ. 'Ελλάδος, 1939 p. 242).

2) **Ph. Koukoules.** Περὶ τὴν βυζαντινὴν οἰκίαν. p. 117.

described by Hahn for towers in Middle Albania (p. 170), is found exactly similar in Aghia. And so is the way the lavatory is built projecting over the wall. Nopcsa, who had little knowledge about the architecture of Thessalian towers, related this building mode to towers of Northern Italy. Hahn and Ekrem have described smaller towers attached to the parallelopiped of the house, as in Mystras; or parts of the house formed into towers and used as a refuge when necessary; these were found in North Epirus and Middle Albania, but they are also known from North Albania.

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Only open sun-terraces often crowned by arcades in the uppermost floor, as sketched by Heuzey and Hahn, are entirely absent from North Albania, where even the closed balconies are found but in some larger towers. The remark of Nopcsa on this subject is correct: this absence is an evidence of that the North Albanian kula is a product of decadence in this building art.

On the other hand, the methods of construction, as described by Ekrem bey Vlora, do not differ at all from the ones Greek builders apply: walls are also built with uncut stones, the space between stones is filled with gravel together with or without any mud; they are just in the same way supported by wooden frames, exactly as in the Byzantine constructions (1).

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According to a remark by the Albanian bey: « It is not possible to define a special Albanian style. Albanian houses display in architecture all characteristics of building art of peoples with whom the Albanians had come into close contact » (2).

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As it is well known, the peoples with whom the Albanians have had an intercourse are the Yugoslavs in the North and the Greeks in the South. But while, as we have seen, there is no Slav influence upon the housing and building methods of Albanians, these methods are almost the same as the ones that always prevailed in Greece except for their adjustment to Moslem habits. It was asked from Albanians, who had become Moslems, to have an absolutely separate

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1) **Ph. Koukoules,** Περὶ τὴν βυζαντ. οἰκίαν in Ἐκετ. Βυζ. Σπ. I B 85. See also **D Loukopoulos** Αἰτωλ. Οἰκήσεις p. 45. Some other similarities between the houses of Albania and the houses of villages, such as formation of the roof. (with a cover of clay), construction of the floor (splinters of tree trunks, covered with wud), can also be seen in the description of ancient and modern building methods by **Ant. Keramopoullos,** Ἀνασκαφαὶ καὶ ἔρευναι ἐν Ἄνω Μακεδονίᾳ.

2) **Ekrem bei Vlora,** p. 56.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
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342 living space for men and women (haremlik for the women and
selamlik for the men)(2).
171 It may be said as a conclusion to the whole survey that, if we
177 except simple primitive forms of the Albanian house, that belong
G probably to very ancient housing and building habits bequeathed to
● 177 Albanians by the ancient Illyrians and Thracians, all the composite
types of houses and especially the two-floor prostyle ones, as developed by the various modifications of the prostoon (προστῶον), as well as all forms of towers (kulas) have been imported into Albania from outside. Not only technique and evolution, but also geographical and
G historical relationship persuade that this progress of Albanian archi-
[331] tecture is due to the activity of Epirot and Macedonian builders who, with their traditional technical skill, introduced better and more composite forms of housing into Albania. These builders, who travelled all over the country, have built many houses and have tought the art of building both to Albanians and to the other Balkan peoples.

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2) See the plan of an Albanian urban house of Berat by **Ekrem bei Vlora** p 57 and Plate VI.

10: Lee E,I-4,5 (no date) 1953
EH1 Greece EH1

The Greeks have a story that when God made the world he put the earth through a sieve and used the soil to make the different countries; but the stones that were left in the sieve he threw over his shoulder, and they became Greece.[1] The land is so mountainous, precipitous and stony that out of the 50,100 square miles that constitute the area of Greece, only 25 per cent are usable as fields, orchards and pastures.[2] Yet on this land, out of a population of 7,335,675, according to 1940 figures, 60 per cent are directly engaged in agriculture, and another 15 per cent cater to the needs of the farmers.[3] This condition, as well as a growing population, is basic to the need for technical change in Greece. Through more than 2,500 years, Greece solved the problem of increasing population on limited land by sending out her people as colonists or immigrants. In the first two decades of this century, emigration to the United States provided the main solution. Early in the 1920s' two things took place which combined to make the population problem acute; the United States passed a law under which a quota was applied to immigrants, which limited drastically the number of Greeks who could thereafter enter the country; and the exchange of populations with Turkey, which increased the population of Greece suddenly by more than a fourth. Since then, the population figures from 1928 to 1940 indicate an annual increase of 1.5 per cent.[4] The traditional ways of farming and the traditional crops cannot support this growing population, even in terms of sheer subsistence. Change must be introduced at the very roots of the economy, striking at the relationship of man to the land and of man to his work, which is a close and meaningful one to the Greeks. How to do this without destroying the meaning of life is the question facing those entrusted with the introduction of change into this culture.

We give here a report of the basic structure, tenets, and attitudes of Greek culture which should be considered in applying change.

Greece has been undergoing induced change for several decades now. Before 1920, the centralization of political and civil affairs effected profound and permeating change in village communities which had been used to self-regulation, and where a prominent farmer spent his entire fortune to build a village school, or a schoolteacher, on hearing of the appearance of the enemy in the vicinity, could, on his own initiative, pass out arms and lead his pupils to battle. After the exchange of populations with Turkey in 1922, the Near East Foundation, helping to rehabilitate the refugees, also undertook to introduce changes in sanitation, child care and the standard of living generally. Changes in the areas of agriculture and health were

[1] A. W. Gomme, 1945, p. 11.
[2] *Report of the FAO Mission for Greece*, 1947, p. 85. (*See* United Nations, FAO).
[3] Ibid. p. 134.
[4] Ibid. p. 162.

introduced under the direction of the Rockefeller Foundation. In the thirties, the dictator Metaxas introduced a number of changes by fiat, which ran counter to Greek values, but many of which were accepted gratefully by people wearied of political dissension and lack of leadership. World War II, with its displacements and destruction and enemy occupation, the work of UNRRA and the Greek War Relief, and more recently, of the POS agency of the ECA, have all been agents of change.

There are many kinds of Greeks. The million or so Greeks who came from Turkey and Russia in the twenties differ from the so-called "old Greeks". The city Greeks consider themselves very different from the peasants. There is a vogue for peasant handicrafts but not for peasant attitudes. Urban Greeks like to take on the ways of foreigners, to use the products of technology, even the processed foods of technology. Many French and English words are used in their speech. They take on the attitudes of the Western World, using clocked time in business and living a life relatively pressed for time, adopting to some extent the Western scientific approach and objective external limits, instead of the more animistic approach and the body-patterned limits of traditional Greek culture. There are lectures here on health and hygiene, on child care and co-operation and nutrition. In Athens, the music and the drama are excellent, and in line with Euro-American developments. There is rapid transportation. There are many associations based on foreign patterns: the YMCA and the YWCA, the Girl Guides and the Boy Scouts, football groups and hiking groups. There are foreign attitudes about travel: people go to tour the country or the world, instead of going to visit a relative or a family friend or a miraculous shrine. The difference reaches its greatest intensity as between the educated Greeks and the peasants, who, though literate, have no high education.

People of different regions have a different way of life. The mountainous terrain, the absence of easy communication except coast-wise, differences in dialect and local history, and, most of all, the extreme personal independence of the people, have fostered tremendous variation from place to place. To the world at large, a man may be a Greek, but to other Greeks, he is a Macedonian, an Arcadian, or an Epirot. More than this, he comes from a particular village of which he is very proud and for whose honour he competes with other villages. In the United States, Greeks from one village, such as Mani, have organized themselves in a nationwide organization. People from one small island speak of the people of the neighbouring island as queer or ill-mannered. This is as it should be; in Greek culture it is good for everyone to be different or, as the Greeks put it, to be individually formed.

The differences are there but the similarities are more basic. The Athenians, working by clock time, strain at their bonds, and do not

allow time to dictate to them in private life; and Athenian newspapers, announcing the hour of the lecture, have to remind people that it is important to be prompt at such affairs. When they deviate from old Greek ways and values, they often do so with awareness and with regret, and the deviation is not profound.

VIEW OF THE SELF

Foremost in the Greek's view of the self is his self-esteem. It is impossible to have good relations with Greeks unless one is aware of this, the Greek *philotimo*. It is important to pay tribute to it, and to avoid offending it, or, as the Greeks say, molesting it. Everyone has his *philotimo*, as an individual, as a member of a family, and, most of all, as a Greek. On this rests Greek individualism, since it is sheer being which is respected, not position in the world or achievement. On this rests Greek democracy and equality, since everyone, both as a person and as a Greek, is equal to everyone else, neither superior nor inferior. Any Greek bootblack is equal to the king, to whom he may refer familiarly as *coumbaros*, wedding sponsor, until some political agitator points out to him that the king is not Greek by descent, and therefore does not merit loyalty or respect as an equal. This does not mean that there is lacking a balance of roles or interpersonal structuring; but these relationships of interdependence, of leader and followers, of division of areas of responsibility and work, are not cast in the mould of superiority and inferiority. Inferiority comes only with the forfeiting of the *philotimo*.

On the *philotimo* also rests Greek nationalism. A man may be ignorant and poor, but when his country is threatened, it is his right and privilege to shed his blood on the altar of Greek freedom along with every other Greek, whatever his district, however wealthy or educated. Again, he shares with every other Greek a common glorious past. A small island, speaking of its illustrious sons, lists the New York chiropractor of today next to the philosopher of 2,400 years ago. A Greek, speaking about his culture, makes statements such as: "The Greeks have been hospitable since the time of Homer." Even learned treatises, such as a paper on present-day medicine, often begin with the glorious work of the ancient Greek thinkers. This is what each Greek esteems in himself, what constitutes his *philotimo:* his personal being, his status within a family, village, district, and, second to none, his Greekness.

The Greek *philotimo* is easily bruised, or molested; and a Greek addressed in a completely objective manner, or hearing himself or his way of life described in harsh scientific terms, is greatly offended. Where an American journalist or scientist, writing about his culture, feels the need to be objective, to uncover the facts, a Greek presents

827 843 is smell which makes the cravings of a pregnant woman not to be denied. A neighbour automatically puts aside a bit of her cooking to send to the pregnant woman next door; and in a grocery store, a customer often offers a "smell" of the olives she has bought to a pregnant customer.

856 828 Orderliness is a highly valued quality. Love songs mention the orderly hair, the orderly teeth. The most recent book on child care lays great stress on avoiding the disordering of a child's teeth and facial contours, giving several sketches and photographs of wrong ways of laying the child in bed or postures in sitting at a school desk which might lead to crookedness, and detailed descriptions of specific distortions and their causes. In houses which contain only one room, areas of work and living are carefully specified and maintained through scrupulous order. The Greek equivalent of "set to rights" or "all right" or "under control" is "in order".

291 [156] [854] The covering of the *philotimo* and the covering of the naked fact find their counterpart, if not their basis, in the body. The body is never naked or, perhaps, only when absolutely necessary. Mothers often arrange to bathe and change the baby without undressing it all at once. The new pediatric practices and the new books on child care demand immersion, but it is all a matter of hygiene; no joy in the naked baby is mentioned anywhere. Conversely, dress, and particularly festive dress, "dress of splendour" and ornamentation, are of great importance, and in fact, are essential to complete the body. When beautiful girls are described, their clothing and their jewellery are given at least as much place as their bodily charms, and are not treated separately; and when a brave youth, a *pallicari*, is mentioned, his trappings are part of the picture. Jewellery and brilliant clothes, [533] woven with gold and silver thread, figure largely in the lullabies, as well as in the love songs and wedding songs. And the lower world which holds no joy is a place where there are no ornamental trappings. The naked body, like the naked word, is stark and grim and incomplete.

501 504 607 The body and the self, the Greek person, delimit, pattern and give shape to relationships and experience. All relationships start with the body and continue along lines of physiological relatedness. They are extended along lines of concrete personal contact. Greeks travel, [484] but mainly along a chain of personal relationships; they go to see a friend of a relative of a friend, and the end, however distant, is concretely linked through persons with the original person. Progress is amelioration of the concretely experienced, or the benefit of immediate relatives or friends or linked persons. The new can be intro- [177] duced, not for the benefit of mankind or even the Greeks, but for the benefit of people along related lines, and better still, it can be introduced by a known and respected intermediary.

177 597 Figures on a chart mean very little to Greeks, and when they refer to people, may even be offensive. Foundations, such as the Near

East Foundation, which have recognized this, have been successful in their relations with Greeks and in the introduction of desirable changes. They realized that they had to use not impersonal scientists but people who were predominantly leaders, with scientific knowledge, people who were willing to go and live in the villages, and make the acquaintance of the peasants over coffee in coffee houses. And the villagers fell in with the proposals for new hygienic methods and child care and artificial insemination because they had respect for and faith in the man who made the proposals. And where schemes introduced in the name of self-interest did not succeed, those introduced in the name of the respected leader did. "For your sake" is a common sanction. The continuous presence of the leader is not, however, necessary once the personal loyalty is there. In recent years, foreign experts have made the mistake of operating mainly from Athens, living in hotels catering to foreigners, of moving in foreign circles, and making no personal contact with the Greeks, thus creating difficulties for themselves and raising obstacles to the effectiveness of their missions. Greek families receiving CARE parcels impersonally, make great efforts to attach a person to the name of the sender; they often write very personal letters, trying to send photographs of themselves, "so that you can see us". In Greece there are no political bosses, since a man's vote is too personal, too much bound by personal loyalty, to be swayed by self-interest. On the other hand, we do find demagogues, who by sheer oratory and force of personality can inspire loyalty to themselves, and thereby, to their ideas. If there are irregularities at the polls, they come about not through the selling of one's vote, but through an attempt to vote several times in an impassioned effort to ensure the election of the chosen candidate.

Greek ethical conduct is personal also. A plea in the name of humanity or of kindness is meaningless to most Greeks; and only recently, in Athens, which has been affected by foreign ideas, did a plea in the name of the suffering peasants find true response. An organization called Friends of the Village was formed, and the aid given is by specific persons to specific people or families, in terms of a personal relationship. A peasant woman, writing to such a "Friend" in Athens, accepts the gift with ease and gratitude saying: "You are now my sister, and your family is my family."

Americans, who excel in impersonal kindness, are always surprised to see their human, warm, generous Greek friends remain unmoved and unresponsive in the face of suffering strangers. Greeks, on the other hand, are surprised to see their kind American friends giving according to figures on a piece of paper, according to what they can afford. In giving, Greeks deprive themselves of the very necessities of life, impoverish and even bankrupt themselves; but they recognize their responsibility to give only where personal relations are involved.

This is also true where truthfulness, honesty, loyalty and obedience

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WORK

Attitudes towards work, time, planning and spending arise also from the person or body as pattern and definition.

Work is life for the Greek. It is the person in function. Things like sports, weekends and vacations, or like "leisure" in the Western sense, are the recent introductions of foreigners. There are times when work or certain kinds of work are interdicted, but this is part of religion, not a claim to leisure time or idleness. And leisure is an attitude, a dimension of all work, and in fact, of all life; it is not confined to a time of day but is the constant expression of internal freedom while at work or at rest.

Diligence is part of the image of the self; it is a personal quality, warmly admired. To call a girl *procommene*, diligent, is to say something about her attractiveness. A poem which school children used to memorize spoke of the joyous little housewife, the little girl who got up early to set the house in order. There was nothing of the repellent goody-goody about her, and nothing strange about calling industriousness joyous. The Greek folk songs, often sung as accompaniments to the dance, picture such work situations: a group of young girls laundering at the beach, spreading the clothes and playing in the sand; or the woman singing at her loom. Folk tales make cruel fun of the lazy wife who comes to grief. Visitors to Greek villages bring back a picture of a busy, happy life, of the girls and women gossiping at the fountain in the village square as they wait their turn; of the mother weaving in the shade of the grape arbor while she watches the food cooking on the outdoor brazier, of her daughters working beside her and the little children running about, playing or running errands; of husband and wife walking to the fields an hour or so away, the little children running by their side, the swaddled baby hanging stiffly at the mother's hip, swinging with every step. They show a picture of shared family work as the medium of family life, as the way in which the growing child comes to belong to and identify himself with the unit of his birth.

Diligence is an internal attitude; it rests on self-discipline and free incentive, it includes interest and enjoyment. It does not mean a valuation of work for its own sake; it is the personal quality of diligence, not work itself, which is good. To work compulsively is to be a slave to work; and what can be worse than slavery? Even to work under the compulsion of work as a virtue is to deny oneself prized freedom; all work under pressure, such as the pressure of a time limit or the dictates of an employer, means loss of freedom. Industrialization and work in urban centres usually run counter to this value. Greeks who emigrated to the United States to earn money for their sisters' dowries, or for land needed by the family, worked incredibly long hours, but neither through external nor through inner compulsion.

805 person is also just arriving, or, if they find him gone, they usually accept the fact with neither apology nor frustration.

STANDARD OF LIVING

511 The standard of living is set, not by a scheme, but by the needs of the person, shaped and channelled by family role, as well as by [109] disdain for softness and love of simplicity. Greeks do not budget, except for a very few who like to follow American ways. They spend not according to what they have, but according to the order of what [599] they want, and, on principle, they should want little. Simplicity and frugality are expressions of fortitude and self-discipline, and they are also really enjoyed as dimensions of living. Greeks are not motivated by the thought of great or vague or schematic future benefits; however, since the family is central to all planning, and since it extends into the future, Greeks try to see to it that there are means for the education of the son or the dowry of the daughter, or for an added field or a gold ornament for the wife. They have no faith in the future, and know that it will not take care of itself. So, as a rule, they buy only what they can pay for now and will not expand either business or standard of living on the basis of future profits.

[426] Greeks go in debt for subsistence and what they consider necessities. They do not like to borrow for luxuries, or for the creation of wealth. If they have enough for necessities, then any rise in income is sheer surplus. It does not have to go towards relieving the strain on the budget, or to pay a dreaded instalment on a radio, and, as a rule, it does not raise the standard of living. The Greek likes his life; [262] he does not see why he should give up his lunch of cheese and bread, or his delicious *commatiasta* (stews) just because now he can afford roast lamb every day. Such things belong to festive occasions. The surplus will be put back into the business, or saved intact for the family, or given in beneficence.

511 556 457 The wealthy Greek "of good family", that is, who has been properly brought up, is not distinguished by luxurious living, since luxury is soft and ostentatious. He is distinguished by his gifts to his country or village, by the battleship or stadium that bears his name, the village fountain or health centre which he established for his district. Large sums of money are sent annually to Greece by its emigrated sons for these purposes, as well as for the support or education or dowering of relatives, by people whose wives do their own housework. Greece has counted on these sums as an important source of income, and the economy of Greece now suffers from the effects of restricted emigration, since American-born Greeks lose contact with their parents' country, and fewer such sums are now being sent back.

THE FAMILY UNIT AND ITS EXTENSIONS

594
602

I do not envy others for their vineyards and their gardens,
I envy only those who can stay in one place
And most I envy those who have brothers and first cousins
To grieve with them and rejoice with them
And to help each other when anything befalls.
(Cretan folksong)

Greek society starts with the family, and is patterned on it. It extends outward from it. A child is born into a group and remains part of the group through no effort of its own, through no attempt to please. Work and play, eating, conversation, celebration, are all in terms of this unit, and are the way in which belongingness is taken on and reaffirmed. Wider contacts come through the family and its extensions. A child's friends are the family friends and their children, and the relatives. He goes visiting and to social gatherings with the family, by day or by night, though pediatricians protest against the latter practice. He goes to church with the family, attending the regular liturgy, not a Sunday school for children. Even when great religious ceremonial occasions come late at night, such as the Mass of the Epitaph on Good Friday night, and the Mass of the Rising of Christ at midnight, the children are present. Except where foreign customs have been taken over, a Greek child does not celebrate his birthday. What is celebrated is the day of the saint after whom the child is named, and it is his family who celebrate. Old and young come to congratulate the family, and to wish that it shall enjoy the child for many years. The family, containing the child, is the focus, not the child himself.

594 [855] [852] [796] [527] [177]

The Greek family is family-oriented. It makes room for the child, and the mother expects to spend much time nursing the child, expects her cooking to be slowed down because of the constant presence and participation of the child. On the other hand, the child is not the focus, and the rhythm of activities does not change with the coming of the child. There are no special mealtimes for the child, neither are the family mealtimes shifted to accommodate its needs. If the father leaves the fields or closes his store on the child's nameday, it is because the *family* is celebrating. The child in the family is neither outstanding nor disruptive; but he is important, since he is accorded a definite place within the structured family.

594 855 [264] [527]

In a Greek family the members spend much time together. The children learn to enjoy being with the adults, and to listen to their conversation, which is not trimmed down to meet the children's interests. In the village, a house often consists of only one room, so there is no physical privacy; and even when there are more rooms for summer living, the winter room is one. And shared living is prized. There is no craving for aloneness, although aloneness is

594 [521] [342] [156]

villages the bread is brown and home-baked, and it may form the complete meal, with olive-oil for dipping. If there is any other food, there is only one dish, containing a variety of ingredients which usually make for balanced eating through the day. The hot bean dish *(fasoulada)* for example, contains olive-oil, parsley, onions, tomatoes, and other vegetables, and, eaten with brown bread and perhaps olives and cheese, provides a complete nutritive meal, except that the proteins are not animal ones; and the writer finds it fit for a king. The Greek meal is not structured climactically. It may end with fruit, or a leaf of lettuce, or cheese; this, however, is nothing to look forward to but, at most, puts a period to the meal. It is the bread, the "food", that is the point of the meal. Greeks in foreign parts, who have taken on rich foreign desserts, often top their meals with a bite of bread.

In the provinces, very little meat is eaten. Through the week it is served, if at all, as a small ingredient part of one of the special vegetable dishes—dishes which are named after the main vegetable they contain. On Sundays, or when guests arrive, or on other festive occasions, there may be roast and potatoes; these are baked together and constitute the whole meal, with the ever-present bread. Fish is eaten in the villages wherever it is available. Processed fish—salted, dried, canned—is a great favourite, and salted roe, made into a "salad" is greatly enjoyed, and forms a regular item during Lent. Milk is consumed in the form of cheese and *yaourti*, a custard-like cultured milk; little is drunk. But the milk used is that of sheep and goats, which, according to Kaloyereas, is richer in fat and protein than cow's milk. In the villages, fruit and vegetables are eaten plentifully when in season; dried fruits and nuts are eaten, olives, cheese while it lasts, and a variety of legumes. There is skill in cooking, and since variety within a meal is not valued or demanded, the simple meals are much enjoyed, and wealthy emigrants, who have succumbed to the luxuries of the American meal pattern, often long for their peasant meals.

In the cities, the Greeks have learned to eat meat and to drink more milk. Here cow's milk and a taste for it have been introduced, and in the country around Athens and Salonica, the peasants raise cattle. Foreign packaged goods are in vogue in the cities, and people, in their desire to take on American ways, eat foods which are contrary to all Greek principles of texture. Oatmeal is eaten by young children and invalids under one of its American trade names, Quaker Oats, pronounced unrecognizably. As *vromi*, it is food for animals, and the word is reminiscent of "stench". According to Dr. Katsigra, much foreign fruit is also imported, and this has led to a demand for perfection in the appearance of the Greek fruit eaten; this means that the Greek fruit for the city is now picked unripe. City people eat mostly white bread. In general, city food, which conforms in externals more closely to the list of the nutritionists, actually seems to be inferior to that of the provinces. And city health is reported to have been

much below that of the provinces, even at a time when the villages were suffering from the depravations of the civil war.

Lent does not affect nutrition significantly. Where olive-oil is not allowed, olives are; where fish is not allowed, fish roe is. In the provinces, not much meat is eaten, even before Lent; in the cities many of the people fast only on a few of the important days of Lent. However, now that mothers have been taught the importance of giving their children daily milk, Lent does have an effect in this area; milk is forbidden during Lent, and children have to fast at least during the latter part. Unicef has made successful efforts to persuade mothers to give their children milk during this period. It achieved this with the co-operation of bishops who drank milk during Lent to show mothers that, if the cause was good, it was not a sin to drink milk; only one archimandrite refused to do so, afraid to take on the responsibility of possibly leading the people astray.

Greek holidays each have their appropriate food. It is essential for the welfare, the religion, for the Greekness of the people, to have this food at that time. At a time when the Bureau of Welfare was set up to function only during emergency, it offered funds for the indigent at holidays for the purchase of the indispensable festive foods. If Greeks have any money to spend at such a time, these foods have a priority over everything else.

ATTITUDES UNDERLYING ACCEPTANCE OF CHANGE

Greeks do not place a value on unlimited progress; what they want is the better than the present, or than the known. Modern Greek has lost the superlative of ancient Greek. To express *the best*, one now says, *the better of all the others*. And this expresses what is actually wanted. The American says, "the sky's the limit", but the Greek wants to reach the ceiling instead, something that he can touch and know ahead of time. The rest is a dream; he speculates about it as he speculates about what he would do if he were President of the United States; and he uses the subjunctive, not the future.

In this way, the attitude toward change is related to the place of the plan in Greek life. On the one hand, that which is a plan to an American, organizing and inciting to action, is a dream to the Greek, leading to quiescence or to oratory. The Greek mother of an American adolescent is shocked to hear her daughter express as plans, in the future tense, what she herself expressed in the subjunctive of the dream. Plans introducing agricultural and other change are formulated by foreign or foreign-trained technicians who say: "When I get to be . . . I shall do . . ." for people who say: "If I were . . . I would do"; there is a chasm between these two views of life.

On the other hand, the plan based on the non-experienced, on

178 out the mote to which the peasant's eye has become accustomed, and even has to take in consideration the fact that the eye is actually adjusted to the mote, and that its removal would mean at least temporary disruption.

[157] There is another side to the picture with respect to coping. Greeks are tenacious and resourceful in making the best of what they do have. A visitor reports that a gasoline tank that sprang a leak on the road was repaired with *loukoums*, the sticky Near Eastern candy; she reports having seen two men pushing freight cars along a railroad track, as the engine had been destroyed in the guerilla warfare. This attitude can be harnessed productively, and with benefit for people who derive a sense of enjoyment and achievement from it.

178 The sanction of the Church in inaugurating any change is essential;
829 and so too, is that of the past, in endorsing practice, as well as a pre-
[195] cedent for the introduction of change. It is well to remember that Byzantium and its civilization was part of the Greek past; and to remember that Rome was not. The Romans were barbarians; the
[854] manual on child care which urges mothers to suckle their babies like Penelope and the Trojan Hecuba, also urges them to give up the custom of swaddling the child's limbs, a barbarous and tyrannical custom practised by the ancient Romans. The past is mentioned in learned articles, in newspapers, in letters, in the oratorical conversation. It is part of the festive dressing of the naked statement.

177 The areas of vulnerability of the Greek *philotimo* must be remem-
178 bered in all suggestions of change, as well as the pattern of relation-
507 ships within which dependency is good and taken for granted. Greeks are ready to be treated as sons or nephews or younger brothers, within the balanced system of interdependency, and the United States Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA), which has been giving welcome aid to Greece, just now is often spoken of as Uncle Truman, after the President of the United States; but it would be an insult to treat them as poor relations who are dependent through personal failure. Again, to be treated mechanistically, impersonally, is offensive; there is resentment at the fact that some of the foreign experts stay at hotels catering to foreigners, associate only with Greeks who follow foreign ways, and treat the rest of the people like figures on a chart.

178 It is necessary to bear in mind that the Greeks have a deep attachment to their way of life, however much in need of change it may be in terms of more recent scientific and economic developments. There
[312] are reports that in the provinces people who can afford to pipe water
[365] to their houses will not do so because they do not want to deprive their women of the social visit at the fountain, and of the walk back and forth. There are communities that decide not to have electricity, not to build a hotel to accomodate the tourists who are attracted by the beauty of the place, so that they can retain the ways they like, time-consuming as they are.

178 476 mutual aid. The abstract end, unless it is part of the immediate, concrete situation, and unless it is implemented in terms of persons, is meaningless; what is meaningful, for example, is for the family group to work together toward the continued education or the dowering of one of its members; or of to the village community rebuild its destroyed coffee house together. A leader who has won the respect of the community, consulting and guiding rather than commanding, can create a co-operative unit derivatively; he enlists the personal loyalty of the people; the people will work for his sake and, incidentally, for his idea and proposed end. This remains within the personal framework.

178 554 59 476 Again, Greeks are *born into a group*, and many Greeks, except under foreign influences in the city, never *join* a group. They are born into the family, into the circle of family friends, into the village community; they do not have to please in order to belong, or to follow regulations. If they fail in their roles within these units, they are bad sons but they do not lose their membership. Only if they forfeit their Greekness in some way, perhaps turn traitor or change their religion, do they run the risk of being disowned. These are the units of co-operation, but they are rooted in the past, not created. There is no [192] Greek equivalent of the word "group" so common in the speech of Americans; words such as *omas* (mass) and *somateion* (body) are [807] used technically to apply to organizations. In school, the class becomes a group only in its opposition to the enemy, the teacher, in playing [570] cruel tricks involving co-operation; otherwise, what we find, even in this opposition, is cheating for the sake of a weaker student, or support of one student by another. There are individual friendships here, individual evocations of honesty. The American Farm School at Salonika works hard at making students realize that they actually form a community at the school, and at teaching them to co-operate within this framework; and the school reports that eventually the students do learn the new co-operative pattern.

179 476 517 Honesty exists, and is expected and respected, only where kinship and personal relations have been established, on a basis of trust and respect for personal worth. In American schools in the cities, American teachers have managed to convince the students that they can trust them as friends, and have thus changed the teacher-student relationship into one of co-operation and honesty. Foreign technical assistants have often lived in a world of their own, in foreign circles, and failing to establish personal relations, have evoked mistrust and dishonesty. Honesty toward fellow members in a created group can be achieved as the result of honesty and loyalty towards the leader of the group. However, it should not be taken for granted; neither should the Greeks be charged with dishonesty. Their framework of honesty is different from that known to the industrialized society of the United States and Western Europe.

342 stables and storage rooms, and in the upper story the living quarters with a verandah, a balcony, and a sink; over them is a flat roof of tiles. The Albanian form of the square fortified tower is to be seen on larger warehouses (Figure 3). The interior displays the customary simple furnishing of the Balkan dwelling; the semicircular chair in Figure 14 is reminiscent of the Albanian styles, while its horn-shaped supports remind one of Turkish influence. The weaving loom and the hatter's bow (Figure 11) that is used for the cleaning of wool and of cotton, have probably come to this country from the Orient, even though the hatter's bow is ancient European (compare the Plate, Estonians II). The baking bell shown in Figure 7, the bagpipes shown in Figure 6, the incense vessel shown in Figure 17, the wooden plow, shown in Figure 15, which is drawn by the team of oxen that are driven on by a goad (not a whip) and which are harnessed with a neck yoke--all these are universally characteristic of the Balkans. The riding donkey shown in Figure 12, on the other hand, points to the Orient. Figures 8 to 9 are illustrations of protective charms--the horse's skull is reminiscent of Kirghiz customs, compare volume 1 of this atlas, Plate, Kirghiz I, Figure 13, that are based upon the knowledge of spiritual forces which are everywhere alive, which are effective in everything that is and has being, and can be utilized for magical purposes, both in a good as well as in a bad sense.

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/105: Illustrations/

/106/ The Macedonians

II.

000 1. Men and women from western Macedonia. 2. Woman from

[See 2: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 73a --Analyst]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Greece EH1

To the Land of the Eagle

000 evening after one of the most delightful walks that could ever fall to one's lot.

● 177 Ginger-beer is a survival from the time of the British administration which ended more than sixty years ago. The Victorian habit of closing all windows at night—night air being considered poisonous—is another. At sunset all the windows at the Pension Suisse were religiously closed and shuttered, including those of my bedroom which, as the weather was quite warm, I promptly opened again, and kept open. A more satisfactory legacy from the British occupation is the game of cricket, which is popular to this day.

132 There are only two months in the year in which the weather is really hot, and only two of so-called winter. Bathing is possible from April to November. At the beginning of May I found the water quite warm, although the Corfiotes think it madness to venture in before July.

512 In the summer the inhabitants close their shops and places of business during the middle of the day. But at five in the afternoon the town wakes up again and the whole population turns out into the cafés, the squares, the streets, and the esplanade. Here the folk stroll about, or sit at tables under the trees drinking coffee or Greek brandy, until ten or eleven o'clock at night when they go home to supper.

[533] They are fond of dancing. In the dance season they dance for many nights in succession, and no dance breaks up until

545 seven or eight in the morning. They have also a theatre to which a company from Athens or Rome occasionally comes. On these nights the play begins at what is